



# **New Amazigh Grammar**

By  
Fatima Boukhris  
Abdallah Boumalk  
El Houssain El Moujahid  
Hamid Souifi

Translated by  
Khalid Ansar

CAL – IRCAM

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**2022**

**Publications de l'Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe**

Centre de l'aménagement linguistique

*Série : Traduction N°: 59*

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**Editeur**

Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe

**Dépôt légal**

2022MO4267

**ISBN**

978-9920-739-80-1

**Impression**

Editions & Impressions Bouregreg - Rabat

**Edition**

2022

**Copyright**

IRCAM



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## Abbreviations

()	: variant or optional element
/	: or
[ ]	: phonetic realization or pronunciation
<	: is derived from
=	: is equivalent to
>	: brings about
→	: is pronounced, generates
c	: consonant
caus.	: causative
cf.	: confer
Comp	: complement
CS	: Construct State
dir.	: direct
DO	: Direct Object
emph.	: emphatic
fem.	: feminine
FS	: Free State
indir.	: indirect
IO	: Indirect Object
masc.	: masculine
neg.	: negative
NP	: Noun Phrase
Ø	: nothing
obj.	: object
p.	: page
Part.	: particle
pass.	: passive
pers.	: person
plr.	: plural

PP : Prepositional Phrase

pron. : pronoun

recip. : reciprocal

S : subject

sing. : singular

V : verb

v : vowel

vs. : versus

## Preface

The process of progressively standardizing the Amazigh language (Berber) may well be viewed to be one of the central goals meant to be achieved by The Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM). In fact, huge efforts have been invested to achieve this goal, and important progress has been attained in this domain ever since the founding of IRCAM. Parallel to the standardization of the Amazigh language, another concomitant workshop which concerns the teaching of the Amazigh language has been underway since 2003. Nowadays, the language is taught at different Moroccan primary schools, the central thrust being to generalize its teaching both vertically (yearly progression from one level to another) and horizontally (extension to new schools).

Further to training trainers in Amazigh, teaching Amazigh means also the elaboration of tools and educational support, and making these tools available to pupils and teachers. This grammar book may well be viewed as one among the basic tools which are indispensable for any pedagogical activity, and without which a language could in no way be adequately taught at school.

Devising a grammar for a language is not something easy. Admittedly, any language, whether it is written or spoken only, has its own grammar, explicit in the first case and simply implicit in the second. It is, therefore, the task of grammarians to make the rules of the language more explicit.

Over the last two centuries at least, many Amazigh grammar works have been elaborated. Importantly, these works exhibit a lot of variation from the standpoint of conception, methodology, approach and presentation. This variation is ascribed to a broad range of reasons; foremost among which are the objectives meant to be achieved and the audience for which these works were intended. Under close scrutiny, all these works serve one common end at least, i.e. exhibiting the fundamentals of the Amazigh language which are shared between all Amazigh varieties no matter how diverse they are. The last three decades have further seen the emergence of a number of studies and works of research bearing on a broad range of Amazigh grammar aspects; these studies have been driven by a variety of theoretical modern linguistic underpinnings.

Paramount among the fundamental characteristics that distinguish the work undertaken, so far, on Amazigh grammar is the fact that it draws heavily on one language variety or, in the best scenario, on a dialect encompassing a composite of other neighbour lects.

This work is meant to be general; its main objective is to set out the functioning of the Amazigh language by paying special attention to the aspects that exhibit its unity. It is not, thereby, meant to lay out the grammar of a particular Amazigh variety but the grammar of Moroccan Amazigh grammar in its entirety, although it is not always an easy goal to be achieved. It is also worthwhile to contend that this work is construed to be part of a larger project meant to standardize the Amazigh language; a project which is still underway and whose central thrust is to equip the language with the necessary reference dictionary and grammar as well as standardize the grammatical and lexical uses of the language. An Amazigh writing system along with a whole range of graphic and spelling norms have already been settled and are under use in the textbooks dubbed ⵜⴰⴳⴷⵓⴷⴰ ⵜⴰⴷⵓⴷⴰ ⵜⴰⴷⵓⴷⴰ [tifawin a tamaziyt] carried out by IRCAM in collaboration with the Ministry of National Education, Higher Teaching, Scientific Research and Executives' Training.

Proceeding to the elaboration of a grammar shared between all Amazigh varieties is beset by many insuperable problems. In fact, the main problem that befalls any linguist working on the unification of Amazigh grammar is variation itself. Notwithstanding the variation problem exhibited by the different Amazigh varieties, it goes without saying that the composite of various works undertaken on Amazigh grammar show that the unity of the Amazigh language is a categorical reality. The idea has been defended since early in the previous century, and it is at the morpho-syntactic level that such unity is more readily observed. Variation is also a categorical reality in Amazigh, and an adequate approach based on valid principles is essentially necessitated. This is why resort was made to the following principles:

- Targeting the unity of the language: the tools and morphemes that are retained are common to the different varieties;

- Trying to safeguard the richness of the language at the grammatical and structural levels. The same idea may well be expressed along various grammatical and lexical means. This explains the presence of a whole range of morphemes to express the same grammatical phenomenon (interrogation,



negation, topicalization, time, etc.). As an example, a yes / no question may well be asked by using either  $\xi\odot$  / is or  $\sqsubset\circ$  / ma.

- Trying to leave some room to variation: variation is a source of linguistic richness, and can serve stylistic ends. Long term use of some forms may well establish particular semantic and linguistic usages.

This work is intended primarily for teachers, because it is conceived as an accompanying tool for teaching Amazigh in Moroccan schools. It is also intended for any person who is interested in Amazigh learning. This is why the presentation of its different elements follows an approach that proceeds from what is simple to what is more complex; the different grammatical components are also ordered along a pedagogical ranking: sounds and phonemes come first followed by the writing system, morphology and syntax. In each chapter, the same presentation procedure is adopted. The inventory of grammatical tools is set out in the first place, and then their morpho-syntactic attributes follows and finally their classification is provided when applicable.

Examples are of paramount importance in a grammar, irrespective of the nature and objective of such grammar. It is the range of examples provided that illustrate a grammatical rule. This explains why their choice is not always easy. With the principles provided above as well as the pedagogical objectives of this grammar work as background, the supplied examples fall, in large part, under the rubric of common Amazigh. When variation is relevant, a composite of various examples are provided to illustrate the same grammatical phenomenon while paying equal attention to lexical variation. The central thrust behind resorting to such measures is to sensitize readers to the richness of the language at different levels.

This grammar is meant to be a pedagogical grammar and not a work of research. A researcher may, nonetheless, find relevant Amazigh grammar-related information in it.

We have also invested lots of efforts in making this grammar as easy and clear as possible. This is why we have resorted to common terminology, of most concern here the terminology used in the Amazigh tradition at the colonial and post-colonial eras. And any terminological units that have specific meanings in particular linguistic theories have been largely sidestepped to avoid any confusion for the readers.

By making this grammar available to teachers and to the people interested in learning the Amazigh language, it is our hope that we have contributed in filling a linguistic gap by providing a milestone grammatical tool for teaching standard Amazigh.

Many thanks are due to El. Iazzi, M. Ameur, R. Laabdelouai, N. El Azrak and A. Bouhjar for having contributed in a way or in another in the implementation of this work.

***The authors***

# CHAPTER 1

## Standard Amazigh phonemes<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Introduction

To transcribe the sounds of a language, we generally have recourse to two types of transcription: *phonetic transcription* and *phonological transcription*. Phonetic transcription may well be viewed as a way of rendering all the phonetic details of a sound or sequence of sounds in a faithful way to their actual pronunciation. Put in another way, the transcription is a narrow one. As for the transcription termed *phonological*, it is a broad transcription meant to render only the prime phonetic features essential for understanding the meaning of a word without paying any attention whatsoever to the phonetic details.

The transcription adopted in this work is phonological. Such transcription derives much of its appeal from its ability to capture the common features observed between different Amazigh varieties.

This chapter tries to give a handle on three points: (i) a presentation of the inventory of segments pertaining to the standard Amazigh phonological system (as construed in IRCAM), (ii) the criteria underlying the choice of Amazigh phonemes, (iii) the whole range of phonetic processes that are neutralised at the orthographic level.

#### 1.1. Phoneme inventory

The phonological system recognises 33 phonemes:

- 27 consonants:

- labials: ⵢ / f, ⵍ / b, ⵎ / m;
- dentals: ⵜ / t, ⵏ / d, ⵔ / ʈ, ⵉ / ɖ, ⵚ / n, ⵓ / r, ⵖ / ʀ, ⵟ / l;

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1- A sincere thank you to Mustapha Sghir and Youcef Hdouch for their diligent proofreading of this work.

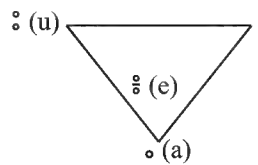
- alveolars:  $\odot$  / s,  $\text{Ж}$  / z,  $\oslash$  / ṣ,  $\text{Ж}$  / ẓ;
  - (alveo)palatals:  $\mathfrak{C}$  / c,  $\mathfrak{I}$  / j;
  - velars:  $\mathfrak{K}$  / k,  $\mathfrak{X}$  / g;
  - labiovelars:  $\mathfrak{K}^w$  / K<sup>w</sup>,  $\mathfrak{X}^w$  / g<sup>w</sup>;
  - uvulars:  $\mathfrak{Z}$  / q,  $\mathfrak{X}$  / x,  $\mathfrak{Y}$  / ɣ;
  - pharyngeals:  $\mathfrak{A}$  / ʕ,  $\mathfrak{H}$  / ʕ;
  - laryngeals:  $\mathfrak{D}$  / h.
- 2 semi-consonants:  $\mathfrak{S}$  / y,  $\mathfrak{U}$  / w.
- 3 full vowels:  $\mathfrak{o}$  / a,  $\mathfrak{x}$  / i,  $\mathfrak{u}$  / u.
- 1 neutral vowel:  $\mathfrak{e}$  / e.

**Table 1: The consonantal system of standard Amazigh<sup>2</sup>**

Point of articulation Manner of articulation			Labials	Dentals	Alveolars	AlveoPalatals	Velars	Labiovelars	Uvulars	Pharyngeals	Laryngeals
Occlusives	Non-emph.	Voiceless		ⱱ			ʙ	ʙʷ	ʀ		
		Voiced	ⱱ	ʌ			ɓ	ɓʷ			
	Emph.	Voiceless		ɸ							
		Voiced		ɸ							
Fricatives	Non-emph.	Voiceless	ɸ		ç	ç			ħ	ʕ	ʁ
		Voiced			ʝ	ɹ			ʁ	ʕ	
	Emph.	Voiceless			ç						
		Voiced			ʝ						
Nasals			ɱ	ɲ							
Rhotics	Non-emphatics			ʀ							
	Emphatics			ʁ							
Laterals				ɭ							
Semi-consonants			ɮ			ɮ					

2- See Ameur, M. et al (2004), p. 16.

**Table 2: The Vocalic system of standard Amazigh**

<div>Point of articulation</div> <div>Manner of articulation</div>	Back	Front
		
High		
Low		

Contrary to the vowels  $\circ$  / a,  $\text{ⵣ}$  / u and  $\text{ⵝ}$  / i whose phonemic status is a categorical reality, the vowel  $\text{ⵣ}$  / e, usually termed ‘the neutral vowel’<sup>3</sup>, stands out as a special vowel, in the sense that it functions as a phonetic unit whose absence affects in no way the meaning of the word.

The graphic system adopted herein, though not strictly phonological, has a phonological tendency. The neutral vowel, accordingly, appears only when its presence is fundamentally necessitated (*cf.* 2.2), namely in the following contexts:

▪ To foil the attempt to create a sequence of more than two identical consonants – a cluster usually difficult to articulate.

- \*  $\text{ⵝⵝⵝⵝ}$  / \* ttrr “she asked for”  $\Rightarrow$   $\text{ⵝⵣⵝⵝⵝⵝ}$  / tettrr
- \*  $\text{ⵎⵎⵎⵎⵝ}$  / \* mmmis “his son”  $\Rightarrow$   $\text{ⵎⵣⵎⵎⵎⵎⵝ}$  / memmis
- \*  $\text{ⵎⵎⵎⵎ}$  / \* dmmm “to beg”  $\Rightarrow$   $\text{ⵎⵣⵎⵎⵎⵎ}$  / dmmem
- \*  $\text{ⵣⵎⵎⵎⵎ}$  / \* zmmm “to write, to record”  $\Rightarrow$   $\text{ⵣⵎⵣⵎⵎⵎⵎ}$  / zmmem

▪ In some verb stems containing two identical segments.

$\text{ⵎⵣⵎⵣ}$ / mlel	“ to be white”
$\text{ⵎⵣⵎⵣ}$ / lyeɣ	“ to be soft, tender”
$\text{ⵝⵣⵝⵣ}$ / snen	“ to cook”

3- It is also termed schwa, “silent” e, zero vowel or null vowel.

## 1.2. The criteria adopted in the elaboration of the alphabet

Along the course of developing the alphabet of Tifinaghe-IRCAM, a composite of various criteria have been taken into account. Foremost among these criteria is the fact that the selection of the alphabet was phonology-based. A set of other criteria that were taken into consideration are laid out as follows:

- Univocity of the sign: Along this criterion, a one-to-one relationship is observed between the grapheme and the sound it refers to. This relationship foils the attempt to create diagraphs (such as *ch* [ʃ] or *ph* [f] in French).
- Geography extension: Only distinctive oppositions common to the three varieties are taken into consideration and retained. When an opposition is observed in some few Amazigh varieties, it is not retained.
- Functional productivity: Along this principle, only productive phonemic oppositions are retained. Put more clearly, an isolated minimal pair<sup>4</sup> is entirely rejected and its opposing units are denied any functional distinctive status (the case of non-emphatic *I* [j] opposed to emphatic *I* [j]).
- The neutralisation of linguistic variation: Irrelevant phonetic dialectal variation is not retained in the phonological system. Conversely, the same variation is freely tolerated in oral production.

## 1.3. Non-retained phonetic units

With the afore-mentioned criteria as background, the decision to abandon some phonetic units becomes sorely needed. Accordingly, some phonetic units that are either less productive or that ensue from regional variation are not retained in the graphic system.

### 1.3.1. *Spirants*

Spirantisation is one of the most prominent phonological processes that operate in Amazigh. The central thrust of this process is to alter stops into spirants. Under spirantisation, bilabial  $\Theta$  / b, dental  $\dagger$  / t and  $\Lambda$  / d coupled with velar  $\aleph$  / k and  $\aleph$  / g shift into their corresponding spirant forms ( $\Theta$  / b >  $\oplus$  /  $\beta$ ,

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4- From the standpoint of structural phonology, a minimal pair refers to two words that are identical in all phonemes except one, for instance  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  / *izm* “lion”-  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  / *ilm* “skin”.



þ / t > X / θ, ʌ / d > V / δ, ʁ / k > ʁ / ç, ʕ / c and ʁ / g > ʁ / ʝ, ʃ / y, I / j). The spirant forms of the above occlusive consonants are viewed as their regional variants. The exchange of stops with their corresponding spirant forms brings about no change in word meaning. Accordingly, the words ʔ⊕⊕ξV / aβrið, X⊕⊕Y⊕OX / θamyarθ, ʔ⊕⊕⊕⊕ / açsum, ʔOX⊕⊕ / arjaz will be written respectively as ʔ⊕⊕ξΛ / abrid “way”, þ⊕⊕Y⊕Oþ / tamyard “woman”, ʔ⊕⊕⊕⊕ / aksum “meat” and ʔOX⊕⊕ / argaz “man”.

The phonetic evolution of the velar sounds ʁ / k and ʁ / g has known many stages: first, spirantisation (ʁ / ç, ʁ / ʝ) and then palatalization (ʕ / c, I / j, ʃ / y).

ʁ / k → ʁ / ç<sup>5</sup> → ʕ / c: ʔ⊕⊕⊕⊕ / aknaf → ʔ⊕⊕⊕⊕ / açnaf → ʕ⊕⊕⊕⊕ / acnaf “roasting”

ʁ / g → ʁ / ʝ → ʃ / y: ʔ⊕⊕⊕⊕ / agmar → ʔ⊕⊕⊕⊕ / aɟmar → ʃ⊕⊕⊕⊕ / aymar “horse”

ʁ / g → ʁ / ʝ → I / j: ʔ⊕⊕⊕⊕⊕ / agrtil → ʔ⊕⊕⊕⊕⊕ / aɟtil → ʔ⊕⊕⊕⊕⊕ / ajrtil “mat”

No matter how the two phonemes ʁ / k and ʁ / g are realized, it is always the occlusive form that is retained at the writing level as an *archigrapheme* (main grapheme).

The only pertinent opposition that obtains between stops and fricatives in some Amazigh varieties is morpho-phonological in nature. This opposition is observed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular direct object pronoun. The pronoun surfaces in two different ways: it surfaces as þ / t in the feminine form and as X / θ in the masculine form.

⊕YξY þ / syiy t “I bought it (fem.).”

⊕YξY X / syiy θ “I bought it (masc.).”

This morphological opposition is resolved in the graphic form by using þ / t for the masculine form and þþ / tt for the feminine form.

⊕YξY þþ / syiy tt “I bought it (fem.).”

⊕YξY þ / syiy t “I bought it (masc.).”

5- See the extended Tifinagh Alphabet in *Graphie et orthographe de l'amazighe* (2006), p. 160.

### 1.3.2. Affricates

This category of sounds may ensue from phonological alteration as evinced below:

ⵎⵎ / ll → ⵏⵏ / dj: ⵍⵎⵎⵍ / illi “my daughter” → [ⵍⵏⵏⵍ / idji]

ⵎⵏ / lt → ⵏⵓ / tc: ⵏⵎⵓⵏ / ultma “my sister” → [ⵏⵓⵏⵓ / utcma]

At the graphic level, basic non-affricate underlying forms are preserved to guarantee a maximum of morphological transparency of language units. Affricates are used in writing only if a significant opposition holds between the two units – the affricate and the non-affricate.

ⵏⵏⵏⵓⵏ / ahjjam “hairstresser” vs. ⵏⵏⵏⵏⵓⵏ / ahddjam “tattooing”

ⵏⵍⵏⵓ / hij “to be agitated, bustling” vs. ⵏⵍⵏⵏⵓ / hidj “poison, bitter dish”

### 1.3.3. Emphatics

The adopted alphabetical system includes basic emphatics: ⵏ / ʔ, ⵏ / ɖ, ⵓ / ʀ, ⵓ / ʂ and ⵎ / ʒ. Emphaticised consonants, where emphasis is not distinctive, are not taken into consideration. In pronunciation, emphaticised consonants usually ensue from adjacency to basic emphatics. For instance, in ⵏⵏⵎ / mɖl (which is phonetically realized as [nnl] due to a double assimilation process that operates on ⵏ / m and ⵏ / ɖ) both ⵏ / m and ⵎ / l are emphaticised owing to their adjacency to the basic emphatic consonant ⵏ / ɖ. In writing, emphaticisation is not graphically rendered. The word will, thereby, be written as ⵏⵏⵎ / mɖl.

The rare cases where emphatic ⵎ / l behaves as a phoneme are borrowings from Arabic or French. In the adopted graphic system, the coronal emphatic lateral consonant will be written as ⵎ / l as in ⵎⵎⵓⵏ / llah “God” and ⵏⵎⵓ / bula “bulb”.

In some very few Amazigh varieties, emphatic ⵏ / j exhibits a minimal pair relationship with non-emphatic ⵏ / j. This opposition is illustrated in the following examples: ⵏⵏⵓ / jju (without emphasis) means “to smell good” while ⵏⵏⵓ / jju (with emphasis) means “to smell bad”.

Emphaticised ⵎ / l and ⵏ / m, on the one hand, and emphatic ⵏ / j, on the other, are not retained in the Amazigh graphic system.

### 1.3.4. Labiovelars

The two labiovelar consonants  $\text{Ḳ}^w / k^w$  and  $\text{Ḃ}^w / g^w$  are common in Amazigh; they pervade nearly all the lexicon of Amazigh and are, thereby, retained in the graphic system. Others, namely  $\text{Ḳ}^w / x^w$ ,  $\text{Ḃ}^w / ɣ^w$ ,  $\text{Ḳ}^w / q^w$  are admitted in some Amazigh varieties but function as regional variants only. This is why they are not taken into account and are rejected entirely from the graphic system.

### 1.3.5. Sibilants

We term “sibilance” the phonetic alteration along which  $\text{ṯ} / t$  shifts into  $\text{Ṱ} / s$  and  $\text{Ḍ} / d$  into  $\text{Ṱ} / z$ .

$\text{ṯ} \circ \text{Ṱ} / \text{tasa}$  “liver”  $\rightarrow [\text{Ṱ} \circ \text{Ṱ} \circ] / [\text{sasa}]$

$\text{Ṱ} \wedge \text{Ḍ} / \text{udm}$  “face”  $\rightarrow [\text{Ṱ} \text{Ṱ} \text{Ḍ}] / [\text{uzm}]$

It is the basic occlusive forms that are retained in the graphic system. Hence, the two words above will be written as follows:  $\text{ṯ} \circ \text{Ṱ} / \text{tasa}$  and  $\text{Ṱ} \wedge \text{Ḍ} / \text{udm}$ .

### 1.3.6. Rhotacism

Rhotacism may well be viewed as an alteration of lateral  $\text{Ḳ} / l$  into apical  $\text{Ṱ} / r$ .

$\text{Ḳ} \text{Ṱ} \text{Ṱ} / \text{ils}$  “tongue”  $\rightarrow [\text{Ḳ} \text{Ṱ} \text{Ṱ}] / [\text{irs}]$

$\text{Ṱ} \text{Ḳ} \text{Ḳ} / \text{awal}$  “speaking”  $\rightarrow [\text{Ṱ} \text{Ḳ} \text{Ṱ}] / [\text{awar}]$

Not unlike the former cases, the original basic form will be retained. The two words  $[\text{Ḳ} \text{Ṱ} \text{Ṱ}] / [\text{irs}]$  and  $[\text{Ṱ} \text{Ḳ} \text{Ṱ}] / [\text{awar}]$  will, therefore, be written as  $\text{Ḳ} \text{Ṱ} \text{Ṱ} / \text{ils}$  and  $\text{Ṱ} \text{Ḳ} \text{Ḳ} / \text{awal}$  respectively. Lateral  $\text{Ḳ} / l$  may also be mapped onto  $\text{I} / j$  ( $[\text{Ṱ} \text{I} \text{Ḳ}] / [\text{ajim}]$  “hay”,  $[\text{Ṱ} \text{I} \text{Ḍ}] / [\text{ajmu}]$  “meadow, grassland”); yet, in writing, the basic lateral  $\text{Ḳ} / l$  will be adopted ( $\text{Ṱ} \text{Ḳ} \text{Ḳ} / \text{alim}$  and  $\text{Ṱ} \text{Ḳ} \text{Ḍ} / \text{almu}$ ).

In broad terms, the abandoned consonants fall under one of the two categories: consonants with no functional productivity or consonants of narrow localized use.

As regards vowels, the adopted alphabet sidesteps long vowels ensuing from compensatory lengthening in particular contexts ( $\text{Ṱ} \circ \text{Ṱ} / \text{yar}$  “at”  $\rightarrow \text{Ṱ} \circ \text{Ṱ} / [\text{ya:}]^6$ ), as well as the nasalization of final vowels and the dropping of stem-

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6- A colon after vowels indicates vowel lengthening.

initial vowels in nouns with initial open syllables (◦Ḥ◦᠘ / afus “hand” → Ḥ◦᠘ / fus).

## 1.4. Phonetic processes

In a spoken utterance, sounds are not a sequence of distinct discrete units. Sounds are usually affected by the phonetic units that precede and follow them. This influence triggers a whole range of phonetic alterations. In the remainder of this section, we shall try to get around some of these alterations, such as emphasis spreading and a number of other phonetic accidents.

### 1.4.1. Assimilation

Assimilation is a phonological process whereby two adjacent sounds influence each other. Below, we shall try to contend with the phenomenon of emphasis spreading as well as place and manner of articulation assimilation.

#### a. *Emphasis spreading*

In words, emphasis spreads from an emphatic consonant and contaminates adjacent consonants, which appear emphaticised. When such spreading holds, emphasis is realised phonetically in all nearby consonants. In the adopted writing system, the change is observed only on ṭ / t, Ḍ / d, ᠘ / s, ʒ / z and ᠒ / r which shift to Ẓ / ṭ, Ẓ / Ḍ, ᠘ / ṣ, ʒ / ẓ and ᠒ / ṛ respectively.

ṣʒ᠒ṣ / izṛi “sight”

◦E◦᠒ / aḍar “foot”

◦lʒ◦᠒ / anṣar “rain”

#### b. *Place and manner of articulation assimilations*

##### ▪ *Partial assimilation*

Two sounds *x* and *y* are said to partially influence each other if one acquires some phonetic feature(s) from the other while some distinctive mismatch is still observed between the two sounds. Under this category of assimilation, point of articulation or manner of articulation features (voicing or voicelessness) are assimilated.

(i) *Voice assimilation*

A voiceless consonant is realised as voiced when adjacent to a voiced consonant:

†ᖆᖆᖆ / tzri “she came around” → [ᖆᖆᖆ] / [dzri]

(ii) *Voicelessness assimilation*

A voiced consonant loses voicing if it abuts against a voiceless consonant.

†ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ / tamzdayt “inhabitant” → [†ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ] / [tamzdaxt]

(iii) *Point of articulation assimilation*

Under point of articulation assimilation, place of articulation is assimilated from one consonant to a contiguous consonant. A labial consonant, for instance, may become dental if it is adjacent to a dental consonant. A case in point is ᖆ / m which turns into ᖆ / n when adjacent to dental † / t:

†ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ / tammemt “honey” → [†ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ] / [tammnt]

▪ *Total assimilation*

Total assimilation leads to the assimilation of all *x*’s features from a nearby consonant *y*. Under total assimilation, the result is usually a collapse of the two sounds into a single geminate consonant.

(i) *Identical consonants*

When a scenario holds where a consonant is directly followed by an identical consonant, the two identical consonants merge into a single tense consonant (a geminate).

- ᖆᖆᖆ†ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ “the house owners” → [ᖆᖆᖆ†ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ] (†† †→††)

ayt taddart “the house owners” → [ayttaddart] (†† †→††)

- ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ “of Nadia” → [ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ] (ᖆ + ᖆ→ᖆᖆ)

n nadya “of Nadia” → [nnadya] (n + n→nn)

- ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ “I got out” → [ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ] or [ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ] (ᖆ + ᖆ→ᖆᖆ or ᖆᖆ)

ffᖆᖆ “I got out” → [ffᖆᖆ] or [ffqq] (ᖆ + ᖆ→ᖆᖆ or qq)

## (ii) Different consonants

When two different consonants happen to be adjacent to each other, assimilation may be progressive or regressive.

### ▪ *Regressive assimilation*

The sound receiving assimilation precedes the sound triggering assimilation:

- ƵƵƵƵ.ɪ ʌ. “They sat here.” → [ƵƵƵƵ.ɪʌʌ] (ɪ + ʌ → ʌʌ)

qqimant da. “They sat here.” → [qqimandda] (t + d → dd)

- ʒII | ʌ.⊙⊙ “one day” → [ʒIIʌʌ.⊙⊙] (ɪ + ʌ → ʌʌ)

ijj n was “one day” → [ijjwwass] (n + w → ww)

- ʒʌʌ. ɣ⊙ ʌɣʒ. “He went to Laayoune.” → [ʒʌʌ.ɣʌʌɣʒ]

(⊙ + ʌ → ʌʌ)

idda ɣr ɫeyun. “He went to Laayoune.” → [iddaɣrɫeyun] (r + ɫ → ɫɫ)

### ▪ *Progressive assimilation*

Under this sort of assimilation, the sound receiving assimilation follows the sound triggering assimilation:

- ʌ + ɪ → ʌʌ: ɪ.ʌʌʌ.ɪ “the white one” → [ɪ.ʌʌʌʌ]

ɪ + t → ɫɫ: tamɫɫalt “the white one” → [tamɫɫɫɫ]

- ʒ + ɔ → ʒʒ: ʒ ʒʒʒ: “in Azrou” → [ʒʒʒʒʒʒ]

g + u → ggʷ: g ʒʒʒu “in Azrou” → [ggʷʒʒʒu]

## 1.4.2. Vowel clusters

When two vowels, belonging to two different words, happen to be adjacent to each other, many phonetic alteration scenarios may hold: the resyllabification of high vowels, glide insertion or the collapsing of the two vowels into one vowel.

### *a. Resyllabification of the high vowels ʒ / i and ɔ / u*

In a vowel cluster, the high vowels ʒ / i and ɔ / u are realised phonetically as ʒ / y and ʌ / w.





◌ᑦᑭᑦᑭ / amyār “chief, father-in-law”	→ [◌ᑦᑦᑭᑦ:] / [amyɑ:]
◌ᑭᑦᑭᑦ / ayrum “bread”	→ [◌ᑦᑦᑦᑦ:] / [ayu:m]

In writing, we reproduce the basic form of the rhotic liquid ᑭ / r in an unscathed fashion and no compensatory lengthening is observed.

## TIFINAGHE ALPHABET - ⵉⵏⵉⵎⴰⵖⵉⵜ | ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵖⵉⵜ<sup>7</sup>

	Tifinaghe	Latin	Arabic	examples
ya	ⵢ	a	أ	ⵢⵏⵓⵢ
yab	ⵢⴰ	b	ب	ⵢⴰⵔⵉⵏ
yag	ⵢⴰⵖ	g	گ	ⵢⴰⵖⵓⵢ
yag <sup>w</sup>	ⵢⴰⵖⵓ	g <sup>w</sup>	گ	ⵢⴰⵖⵓⵢⵓⵢ
yad	ⵢⴰⵔ	d	د	ⵢⴰⵔⵉⵏ
yaḍ	ⵢⴰⵔⵓ	ḍ	ض	ⵢⴰⵔⵓⵢ
yey	ⵢⴰⵢ	e	-	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢ
yaf	ⵢⴰⴼ	f	ف	ⵢⴰⴼⵓⵢ
yak	ⵢⴰⴽ	k	ك	ⵢⴰⴽⵓⵢ
yak <sup>w</sup>	ⵢⴰⴽⵓ	k <sup>w</sup>	ك	ⵢⴰⴽⵓⵢⵓⵢ
yah	ⵢⴰⵃ	h	ه	ⵢⴰⵃⵓⵢ
yaḥ	ⵢⴰⵃⵓ	ḥ	ح	ⵢⴰⵃⵓⵢⵓⵢ
yaε	ⵢⴰⵉ	ε	ع	ⵢⴰⵉⵓⵢ
yax	ⵢⴰⵔ	x	خ	ⵢⴰⵔⵓⵢ
yaq	ⵢⴰⵖ	q	ق	ⵢⴰⵖⵓⵢ
yi	ⵢⴰⵢ	i	ي	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢ
yaj	ⵢⴰⵢⵓ	j	ج	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢ
yal	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢ	l	ل	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢⵓⵢ
yam	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢ	m	م	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢⵓⵢ
yan	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢ	n	ن	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢⵓⵢ
yu	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢ	u	و	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢⵓⵢ
yar	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢ	r	ر	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢⵓⵢ
yaṛ	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢ	ṛ	ر	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢⵓⵢ
yaɣ	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢ	ɣ	غ	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢⵓⵢ
yas	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢ	s	س	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢⵓⵢ
yaş	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢ	ş	ص	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢⵓⵢ
yac	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢ	c	ش	ⵢⴰⵢⵓⵢⵓⵢ

7- Official Tifinaghe Alphabet Table as advocated by the Language Planning Centre (CAL), IRCAM.

yat	†	t	ت	†%○○ 。
yaṭ	Ǝ	ṭ	ط	†٪ƎƎ
yaw	⏏	w	و	。⏏。⏏
yay	ƶ	y	ي	。٪٪٪○
yaz	✱	z	ز	。⏏。✱٪Ǝ
yaẓ	✱	ẓ	ز	٪✱٪

## CHAPTER 2

### Spelling rules

The spelling adopted in this book is based on two general principles supported by linguistic analysis. The first is the identification of the graphic word; the second is the segmentation of spoken utterances.

#### 1. Graphic word categories

A graphic word consists of a sequence of letters or merely of a single letter flanked by two typographical white spaces. The graphic word in Amazigh falls under one of these categories:

- A noun coupled with its obligatory markers of gender (ⵓⵜⴰⵎⴻⵔ / atbir (masc.) - ⵜⴰⵎⴻⵔⵉⵜ / tatbirt (fem.)), number (ⵉⵜⴰⵎⴻⵔⵉⵏ / itbirn (masc. plr.) - ⵜⴰⵎⴻⵔⵉⵏⵉⵏ / titbirin (FS fem. plr.)) and state (ⵓⵜⴰⵎⴻⵔ / utbir (CS masc. sing.) - ⵜⴰⵎⴻⵔⵉⵜ / ttbirt (fem. sing)).

Contrarily, grammatical elements that specify nouns are graphically separated from them by a space.

ⵓⵎⴰⵔⵉⵏ ⵓ / abrid a	“this way”
ⵓⵎⴰⵔⵉⵏ ⵉⵏⵏ, ⵓⵎⴰⵔⵉⵏ ⵏⵏ / abrid inn, abrid ann	“that way”
ⵓⵎⴰⵔⵉⵏ ⵏⵏⵉⵏ (ⵏⵏⵓ / ⵏⵏⵉ / ⵏⵏⵓ) / abrid lli (nna / nni / da)	“the way in question”
ⵓⵎⴰⵔⵉⵏ ⵏⵏⵓ / abrid nns	“his / her way”
ⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵓ ⵓⵎⴰⵔⵉⵏ / haqqa abrid	“This is the way.”

Kinship nouns, nonetheless, behave in a different fashion. Counter to other nouns, kinship nouns, along with their possessive pronoun, make up a single graphic word.

**Table 1: paradigm of pronouns affixed to kinship nouns**

	Masculine		Feminine	
Sing.	ፀ.ፀ. / baba	“my father”	ፀ.ፀ. / baba	“my father”
	ፀ.ፀ.፳ / babak	“your father”	ፀ.ፀ.፫ / babam	“your father”
	ፀ.ፀ.፬ / babas	“his father”	ፀ.ፀ.፬ / babas	“her father”
Plr.	ፀ.ፀ.ተሃ / babatny	“our father”	ፀ.ፀ.ተሃ / babatny	“our father”
	ፀ.ፀ.ተ፲(፱፫) / babatun (wm)	“your father”	ፀ.ፀ.ተ፲(፱፫) / babatunt (wmt)	“your father”
	ፀ.ፀ.ተ፬ / babatsn	“their father”	ፀ.ፀ.ተ፬ / babatsnt	“their father”

▪ *A quality noun along with its morphological markers of:*

- gender (፬፱፬ሃ / awray (masc.) “yellow” - ተ፬፱፬ሃተ / tawrayt (fem.))
- number (፯፱፬ሃ፲ / iwayn (masc. plr.) - ተ፯፱፬ሃ፯፲ / tiwayin (fem. plr.))
- state (፱፱፬ሃ / uwray (CS masc. sing.) - ተ፱፱፬ሃተ / twrayt (CS fem. sing)).

▪ *A verb along with its:*

- person markers: ፱፬፯ሃ / usiy “I took”, ተ፱፬፯፳ / tusid “You took”, ፯፱፬፯ / yusi “He took”, ፲፱፬፯ / nusi “We took”
- derivational morphemes:
  - the causative morpheme: ፬፬፱፳ሃ / ssufy “to go out+ caus.”, ፬፬፳፫፫ / sskcm “to get in + caus.”, ፬፬፯፳፳፳ / ssidf “to get in + caus.”, ፬፬፱፳፳ / ssukf “to uproot”;
  - the reciprocal morpheme: ፫፯፱፬፬፲ / myussan “to know + recip.”, ፫፬፯፳፳፻ / msifi፻ “to send + recip. = to see off each other”, ተተ፫፯፳፳፳ / ttmyafa, “to find + recip. + passive”, ፫፳፱፬፱፯ / mzaray “to exceed + recip.”;
  - the passive morpheme: ተተ፱፯፯፬፬፲ / ttuyissn “to know + passive”, ተተ፱፬፳፳፬፬ / ttwakks “to remove + passive”, ተተ፯፯፳፳፬፬ / ttyikks “to remove + passive”.



- Prefixed: ʈʈ.ʈʂ / ttawi “to take”, ʈʈ.ʂʂ / ttini “to say”
- Infix: ʂʂʂʂ / zddy “to dwell”, ʂʂʂʂ / ssay “to buy”, ʂʂʂʂ / skar “to do”, ʂʂʂʂ / krrz “to plow”

ᑕᑭᑦᑦ ᑕᑕᑦᑦ ᑕᑕᑦᑦ. / mliᑦ ᑕᑕᑦᑦ ᑕᑕᑦᑦ.	“I have shown it to them.”
ᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕ. / iwin ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕ.	“They have brought it.”
ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ. / ur ᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ.	“They have not come.”
ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ. / ur ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ.	“They have not brought them.”

- its causative, reciprocal and passive derivational morphemes:
  - o causative:  $\Sigma\Theta\Theta\text{:}\mathcal{H}\Psi$  / issufyn “getting out + caus.”,  $\Sigma\Theta\Theta\mathcal{R}\mathcal{C}\Pi$  / isskcmn “getting in + caus.”,  $\Sigma\Theta\Theta\Sigma\Lambda\mathcal{H}\Pi$  / issidfn “getting in + caus.”;
  - o reciprocal:  $\Pi\Sigma\text{:}\Theta\Theta\text{.}\Pi\Sigma$  / myussanin “knowing + recip.”,  $\Pi\Theta\text{.}\Pi\text{.}\mathcal{W}\Pi\Sigma$  / msawalnin “speaking + recip”;
  - o passive:  $\Sigma++\Sigma\text{:}\Theta\Theta\Pi$  / ittyussnn “knowing + passive”,  $\Sigma++\Pi\text{.}\mathcal{R}\mathcal{R}\Theta\Pi$  / ittwakksn “removing + passive”.
- its aspect markers:
  - o prefixed:  $\Sigma++\text{.}\Pi\Sigma$  / ittawin “taking”,  $\Sigma++\Sigma\Pi\Sigma$  / ittinin “saying”;
  - o infix:  $\Sigma\mathcal{M}\Lambda\Lambda\Psi$  / izddyn “dwelling”,  $\Sigma\Theta\Theta\text{.}\Psi\Pi$  / issayn “buying”,  $\Sigma\Theta\mathcal{R}\text{.}\Theta\Pi$  / iskarn “doing”.
- its markers of agreement in number:
  - o  $\Sigma\Lambda\Lambda\text{.}\Pi$  / iddan -  $\Lambda\Lambda\text{.}\Pi\Sigma$  / ddanin “going”
  - o  $\Sigma\mathcal{H}\mathcal{H}\Psi$  / iffyn -  $\mathcal{H}\mathcal{H}\Psi\Pi\Sigma$  / ffynin “going out”

▪ *Direct and indirect object pronouns:*

They are always written as separated units from the verbs they precede or follow:

ጸፂ፻፶፫ / zṛiy tn.	“I have seen them.”
፻፬ ፫ ጸፂ፻፶፫ / ur tn zṛiy.	“I have not seen them.”
፫፻ ፻፬ ! / ml asn !	“Show them!”
፻፬ ፻፬ ፫፻፶፫ / ad asn mly.	“I will show them.”

▪ *Independent pronouns:*

፫፫፫፫ ፻፬ ጸፂ፻፶፫ / nttat ad zṛiy. “It is she that I have seen.”

▪ *Proximity, remoteness and absence demonstratives:*

፻፫፻፻ ፻፬ / ajjig ad - ፻፫፻፻ ፻ / ajjig a - ፻፫፻፻ ፻ / ajjig u “this flower”

፻፫፻፻ ፻፫፻ / ajjig ann - ፻፫፻፻ ፻፫፻ / ajjig inn “that flower”

፻፫፻፻ ፻፻፻ / ajjig lli - ፻፫፻፻ ፻፻፻ / ajjig nni - ፻፫፻፻ ፻፻፻ / ajjig nna “the flower in question”

▪ *The preposition:*

The preposition stands as a graphic word by itself. It is, thereby, separated from the noun it governs by a blank space.

፻፻ ፻፻፻፻ / s uḍar	“on foot / with the foot”
፶፬ ፻፻፻፻፻፻፻፻ / yr xnifra	“to Khenifra”
፻፻ ፻፻፻፻፻፻፻፻ / zi miḍar	“from Midar”
፻፻፻ ፻፻፻፻፻፻፻፻፻፻፻ / xf tnakra	“on the mat”

Yet, when the preposition is followed by an objective pronoun, no blank space is tolerated between the two units. The preposition and the pronoun are conjoined into a single graphic word.

፶፻፻፻፻ / yurs	“at his / her house”
፻፻፻፻፻፻ / digs	“in him / her”
፻፻፻፻፻ / dari	“in my house, at home+”

▪ *Adverbs:*

Irrespective of its semantic value, the adverb stands as a single graphic word surrounded by two typographical blank spaces (ΛΥΞ / dyi, ΞΓΟΗ / imal, Λο / da, ΨΛο† / zdat, ΘΘο / ssa, ΙοΙ / jaj, ΓοΙΞ / mani, ...).

▪ *Interrogatives:*

ΞΘ ΞΥΟο? / is iyra ?	“Did he study?”
Γο †ΗΗΥ? / ma tffý ?	“Did she go out?”

▪ *Negative particles:*

οο ΛΛΞΙ. / ur ddin.	“They (masc.) did not go.”
οο ΗΗΞΥ†. / ur ffýnt.	“They (fem.) did not go out.”

▪ *Aspectuals:*

οΖΖο ΘοΠοΗΙ. / aqqa sawaln.	“They are talking.”
Λο ΞΘΘοΥ ΞΘΗΓοΙ. / da issay islman.	“He usually buys fish.”
οΛ οΠΞΙ οΓοΙ. / ad awin aman.	“They will bring water.”

▪ *Pre-posed and post-posed orientation particles (Λ / d - Η / nn):*

οΠΞ Λ ! / awi d !	“Bring (here)!”
οΠΞ Η ! / aw inn !	“Take (there)!”
οο Λ ΨΞΠΞ ΞΛΟΞΓΙ. / ur d yiwi idrimn.	“He did not bring money.”
οο Η ΨΞΠΞ ΞΛΟΞΓΙ. / ur nn yiwi idrimn.	“He did not take money (there).”

▪ *The predicative particle Λ / d:*

Λ οΘΘΑοΙ ! / d aşbhan !	“It is nice / beautiful!”
Λ Ι††ο†. / d nttat.	“It is her / she.”
οο Λ οΘοΞΛ ο. / ur d abrid a.	“Not this way.”
ΞΘ Λ ο.ΨΨοο ? / is d azkka ?	“Is it tomorrow?”

▪ *Conjunctions (ΓΟ / mr, ΓΗο / mla, ΓοΟο / mara, ΞΧ / ig, ΞΥ / iy):*

ΓΟ ΞΘΘΞΙ, ΞΘ Λ ΞΛΛο.

mr issin, is d idda.

“If he knew, he would come.”

- *Vocatives:*

• ԺԿՕԺ ! / a tamyart !                      “Hey, woman!”

- *Morphemes of presentation:*

①.  $\Sigma|\Theta \times \Sigma \sqcup|$ . / ha inbgiwn. “Here are the guests.”

▪ *Lexicalised words introduced by*  $\Theta^\circ$  / bu,  $\mathbb{C}\mathbb{C}^\circ$  / mmu,  $\mathbb{C}^\circ$  / mu,  $\mathbb{C}$  / m,  $^\circ$  / u,  $^\circ\mathbb{H}^\dagger$  / ult,  $\mathbb{X}\mathbb{X}^\omega$  / gg<sup>w</sup>,  $^\circ\mathbb{S}^\dagger$  / ayt, etc.:

ᠪᠤ᠋ᠸᠠᠨᠤ᠋ / butagant	“boar”
ᠪᠤ᠋ᠠᠷᠦ᠋ᠭᠠᠨᠤ᠋ / buɛɾɢa	“Bouarfa” (toponym)
ᠮᠢᠴᠢᠯᠢᠭᠠᠨᠤ᠋ / miclɪɢn	“Michlifen” (toponym)
ᠠᠶᠲᠤᠮᠠᠨᠤ᠋ / aytma	“those (masc.) of / those belonging to my mother = my brothers”

When the string is not a lexicalised sequence, a blank space surfaces between the noun and the preceding element.

<p>᠋ᠰᠤᠮᠡᠢ ᠬᠦ ᠨᠥᠭᠡᠳᠦ.</p> <p>sawly i bu tgm̐mi.</p> <p>“I talked to the owner of the house.”</p>
<p>ᠶᠣᠷ᠎ᠠᠯᠠᠨ ᠸᠠᠭᠲᠤ.</p> <p>yɔr i lal n uxxam.</p> <p>“Call the housewife.”</p>
<p>ᠴᠠᠳᠠᠭᠤᠨ ᠵᠢᠳᠠᠨ</p> <p>m titṭawin</p> <p>“the woman with beautiful eyes”</p>

- *Quantifiers:*

፬፰፻፲ ፡ ተኅላዕጸዙተ / azgn n tuyrift	“half of a loaf of bread”
፬፫፪፩ ፡ ከሁለት / attaş n iwdan	“many people”
ተ፳ተ ፡ ርጅላሊ / tugt n middn	“most people”
፬፫፡፱ ፡ እሳዐዕፎርባ / amata n ierrimn	“most young people”

Should the quantifier have a pronominal complement, the latter surfaces as an independent graphic word.

ᄫᆞᆯᄫᆞᆯᄫᆞᆯᄫᆞᆯ / at̥aʃ nnsn	“most of them”
ᄫᆞᆯᄫᆞᆯᄫᆞᆯᄫᆞᆯ / tugt nnsn	“the majority of them”
ᄫᆞᆯᄫᆞᆯᄫᆞᆯᄫᆞᆯ / amata nnsn	“the majority of them”

## 2. Schwa writing rules

In writing, schwa, dubbed also the neutral vowel, is only resorted to foil the attempt to create a sequence of strictly adjacent identical consonants. Using the schwa in writing is, thereby, essentially necessitated in the following situations:

*a. A sequence of more than two identical root consonants coexisting in a word:*

ΛΛΛΛ / dllel	“to sell by putting up for auction”
ΛΛΛΛ / dmmem	“to implore”
ΛΛΛΛ / fzzēz	“to chew”

*b. Prefixation of the person marker †- / t- to verbal stems containing an initial †† / tt provided that the initial †† / tt is:*

▪ *part of a stem:*

†† / ttu	>	†††† / tettū
“to forget”		“She forgot.”

▪ *an imperfective aspect marker:*

††.ΛΛ / ttawi	>	††††.ΛΛ / tettawi
“to bring, to take”		“she usually brings / takes”

▪ *a passive tense marker:*

††ΛΛ.ΛΛ / ttyakar	>	††††ΛΛ.ΛΛ / tettyakr
“to be stolen, to be robbed”		“she was stolen / robbed”

Let it be known that there are extreme cases where the †† / tt belonging to the root, the person marker † / t and the imperfective aspect marker †† / tt abut against each other, as laid out in the example below:

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Imperfective</u>	<u>Imperfective 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. (fem. sing.)</u>
†† / ttu	†††† / ttettu	†††††† / tettettu

To obviate such undesired forms (i.e. †††††† / tettettu), truncation of the first consonant is resorted to, and the output looks as follows:

†††† / ttettu (in place of †††††† / tettettu)

***c. Verbal stems finishing with two identical consonants:***

The insertion of schwa in such stems is essentially necessitated so as to obviate the gemination of the two adjacent identical stem consonants (*cf. 1.1*).

## CHAPTER 3

### The noun and the noun phrase

#### 1. Noun formation

A noun is a lexical unit made up of a root and a stem. It can take a simple form (ⵓⵔⵗⵎ / argaz “man”, ⵏⵓⵔⵓ / adlis “book”, ⵜⵓⵏⵓⵔ / tamurt “land, ground”), a compound form (ⵓⵔⵓⵔⵓⵔ / buhyyuf “hunger”, ⵓⵔⵓⵔⵓⵔⵓⵔ / butxutam “annular”) or a derived form (ⵓⵔⵓⵔⵓⵔ / aslmd “teaching”, ⵔⵓⵔⵓⵔ / iyimi “stay”, ⵏⵓⵔⵓⵔⵓⵔ / amsawad “communication”).

A noun may vary depending on its gender (ⵏⵓⵔⵓⵔⵓⵔ / amḥḍar “a pupil, masc.”, ⵜⵓⵏⵓⵔⵓⵔⵓⵔ / tamḥḍart “a pupil, fem.”), number (ⵏⵓⵔⵓⵔⵓⵔ / amḥḍar, sing. - ⵔⵓⵔⵓⵔⵓⵔ / imḥḍarn, plr.) and state (ⵏⵓⵔⵓⵔⵓⵔ / amḥḍar, FS - ⵔⵓⵔⵓⵔⵓⵔ / umḥḍar, CS).

##### 1.1 Gender

Two gender types are recognised: masculine and feminine. In general, the feminine form gets its shape from the masculine form.

*We recognise two gender types:*

- a. Natural gender, which is inextricably related to the semantic content of the noun in the sense of distinguishing between a “male” and a “female”, is usually used for sexed creatures such as human beings and animals.
- b. Grammatical gender relies on the grammatical formal properties portrayed by the gender morphological markers.

With regard to borrowings from other languages such as Arabic, the borrowed nouns preserve their original gender while receiving the Amazigh feminine markers.

Semantically, feminine nouns devoid of feminine morphological markers are identified as feminine nouns on the basis of the agreement that holds between the noun and the verb in a sentence.

### a. Masculine nouns

Masculine nouns are, in general, preceded by one of the following vowels:  
 ◦ / a, ʕ / i or ◦ / u. The nouns that start by the vowel ◦- / a- make the majority of nouns:

◦Ḥ◦Ṭ / afus	“hand”
◦E◦Q / aḍar	“foot”
◦Ṭ◦ṢḤ / abrid	“way, path”
◦Ḥ / ul	“heart”
◦ḤḤ / udm	“face”
ṢḤḤ / ixḥ	“head”
ṢḤṬ / ils	“tongue”

In parallel to the vowel-initial class, another class consists of consonant-initial nouns:

Ḥ◦Ḥ / laḥ	“hunger”
Ḥ◦Ḥ / fad	“thirst”
ḤḤḤ / middn	“people”
Ṭ◦E◦E / baḍaḍ	“love”

As a general rule, vowel-initial nouns are categorised as masculine nouns. Yet, exceptions to this rule are well admitted:

ḤḤḤ / imma	“mum”
ṢḤḤ / illi	“(my) daughter”
◦ḤḤḤ / ultma	“(my) sister”

It is not an oddity for the masculine form which is derived from a feminine base to express an augmentative value:

ḤḤḤḤ / tiggmi	“house”	ḤḤḤḤ / iggmi	“big house”
Ḥ◦ḤḤḤ / taddart	“house”	◦ḤḤḤḤ / addar	“big house”
Ḥ◦ḤḤḤ / tamart	“beard”	◦ḤḤḤḤ / amar	“big beard”

It is also not untypical of the masculine nouns that are derived from feminine nouns to have a derogatory meaning; especially if there is talk of sexed beings.



ተ.ፀ.ፀተ / tanburt	“spinster”	ፀ.ፀ.ፀ / anbur	“mannish spinster (derogatory)”
ተ.ፈ.ፈተ / tadgalt	“widow”	ፀ.ፈ.ፈ / adgal	“a woman with bad reputation”
ተ.ፎ.ፎ.ፎተ / tamፑፑፑ	“woman”	ፀ.ፎ.ፎ.ፎ / amፑፑፑ	“mannish woman”

There are masculine nouns that have no feminine form.

ፀ.፳.፱ / anፑar	“rain”
ፀ.፳.፳ / adfl	“snow”
ፀ.ፎ.ፈ / amud	“seed”
፳ፑፀፀ (፳፳ፀፀ) / iyss (ixss)	“bone”

### **b. Feminine nouns**

The circumfix ተ...ተ / ተ...ተ expresses feminineness. To yield a feminine noun, the circumfix, more often than not, flanks the stem of the noun.

ፀ.፳.ፀ / agmar	“horse”	ተ.ፀ.ፀ.ፀተ / tagmart	“mare”
፳ፀ፳ / isli	“groom”	ተ.፳ፀ፳ተ / tislit	“bride”
፳ፎፎ / uccn	“wolf”	ተ.፳ፎፎተ / tucnt	“wolf (fem.)”

A number of feminine nouns take either the initial or the final ተ / ተ of the feminine circumfix morpheme ተ...ተ / ተ...ተ, as set out below.

ተ.፳.፳ / tadla	“bunch”
ተ.፳.፳ / tawla	“fever”
፱፱ፎፆተ / ፑፑmuyt	“tiredness”

As for other nouns, feminineness is evinced by lexical opposition. Put in another way, feminine nouns are not directly formed on the basis of a masculine stem.

፳፶፳ፀ / ayyis	“horse”	→	ተ.፳.ፀ.ፀተ / tagmart	“mare”
ፎፆፆ፳ / memmi	“(my) son”	→	፳፳፳፳ / illi	“(my) daughter”
ፀ.ፀ.ፀ / baba	“(my) father”	→	፳ፆፆ፳ / ፳ፆፆ.ፀ // immi / imma	“(my) mother”
፳ፀፆ፳ / ismg	“slave”	→	ተ.፳.፳፶፳.ፀ / tawayya	“slave (fem.)”

(i). *Diminutive, meliorative and collective nouns*

Nouns in feminine form may denote diminutiveness.

፳ተዐ፳ / itri	“star”	→	ተ፳ተዐ፳ተ / titrit	“small star”
ዐዢ፡ፍ / afus	“hand”	→	ተዐዢ፡ፍተ / tafust	“small hand”
ዐይዐ / aḍar	“foot”	→	ተዐይዐተ / taḍart	“small foot”

The diminutive form may express an appreciative function.

ዐዢ፡ፍ / afus	“hand”	→	ተዐዢ፡ፍተ / tafust	“cuffs”
ዐረፍ / aqmu	“mouth”	→	ተዐረፍተ / taqmut	“small mouth”

The feminine form may also refer to a unit noun, and thereby stands in a tangential relationship with its corresponding masculine form which refers to a collective noun. This phenomenon holds, most influentially, when the nouns belong to the fauna and flora domains.

ዐጼ፡ፍ / aḥalim	“onion”	→	ተዐጼ፡ፍተ / taḥalimt	“an onion”
ዐጸ፡ፍ / argan	“argan ”	→	ተዐጸ፡ፍተ / targant	“an argan tree”
ጸጸጸ፡ፍ / xizzu	“carrots”	→	ተጸጸጸ፡ፍተ / taxizzut	“a carrot”
ዐፍ፡ፍ / asngar	“corn”	→	ተዐፍ፡ፍተ / tasngart	“an ear of corn”

The feminine form may also refer to an action carried out by an agent, a physical or moral quality, or a (geographical, cultural, ethnic ...) origin or affiliation.

ዐጸጸ፡ፍ / amxxar	“thief”	→	ተዐጸጸ፡ፍተ / tamxxart	“thief (fem.)”
ዐጸጸ፡ፍ / amgg <sup>w</sup> ad	“coward”	→	ተጸጸጸ፡ፍተ / tigg <sup>w</sup> dt	“fear”
ዐሃ፡ፍ / ayzaf	“big, tall”	→	ተጸሃ፡ፍ / tiyzi	“length”

(ii). *The feminine form of nouns preceded by ፡- / u-, ፡- / bu-, ፡- / ayt-*

Nouns of concern here are the ones preceded by the morpheme (፡- / bu- “the one with / owning”) that expresses belonging or by the morphemes

(ⵉ- / u-, ⵓⵔ- / ayt- “the one / those belonging to, depending of”) that express affiliation.

ⵉⵔ ⵍⵎⵎⵓⵎⵉ / bu iḥllaln	“liar”	→	ⵎⵍⵎⵎⵓⵎⵉ / m iḥllaln	“liar (fem.)”
ⵓⵔⵉⵎⵓⵣⵉⵢⵜ / u tmaziyt	“compatriot”	→	ⵓⵎⵓⵔⵉⵎⵓⵣⵉⵢⵜ / ult tmaziyt	“compatriot (fem.)”
ⵓⵔⵉⵁⵔⵓⵛⵎ / ayt uxxam	“family members”	→	ⵁⵔⵉⵁⵔⵓⵛⵎ / ist uxxam	“the house- wives”

### c. Nouns with a single gender

Amazigh recognises a class of nouns that have only one gender, masculine or feminine.

ⵓⵏⵣⵓⵔ / anẓar	“rain”
ⵓⵏⵉⵎⵉ / adfl	“snow”
ⵓⵏⵓⵎⵉ / akal	“ground, land”
ⵜⵓⵏⵉⵛⵓⵔ / tawiza	“collective work»
ⵜⵓⵏⵉⵙⵓ / tawja	“family”
ⵜⵓⵏⵉⵙⵓ / taḍa	“alliance pact”

## 1.2. Number

Amazigh nouns recognise two forms: singular and plural. It should also be noted that Amazigh nouns, not unlike most other languages, agree with verbs in number (*cf.* 8.1.b).

Under the plural form, nouns may take a variety of shapes depending on the kind of morphological alterations they are subject to. These alterations are set out below.

- Singular nouns initial vowel alteration;
- vowel alteration coupled with the suffixation of the plural marker -l / -n or one of its variants; this sort of plural form is conventionally termed *regular* plural;
- phonetic alterations observed in the singular noun stem; this sort of plural is dubbed the *broken* plural;
- two or three of the above processes conjoined in a single package in the plural form of the noun; this type is labelled *mixed* plural.

### *a. Regular plural*

Under this category, nouns exhibit initial vowel alteration wedded with the affixation of -l / -n or one of its variants (-ᵿl / -in, -o / -an, -oᵿl / -ayn, -ll / -wn, -o ll / -awn, -ll o / -wan, -ll ᵿl / -win, -tl / -tn, -ᵿᵿl / -yin ).

To generate the plural form, vowel initial singular nouns, most influentially those with an initial o- / a-, undergo an alteration whereby the initial vowel is shifted to ᵿ- / i-.

While the o- / a- initial nouns may sporadically keep their initial vowel in the plural form, the nouns with initial o- / u- foil the attempt to undergo any change whatsoever when they are mapped on their plural form. As for nouns with initial ᵿ- / i-, they rarely undergo any change.

As a general rule, the initial vowel alteration is accompanied by the suffixation of the plural marker -l / -n or one of its variants, depending on whether the noun is masculine or feminine.

#### *(i). o- / a- // ᵿ- / i- alternation*

This alternation obtains in most nouns. It is not untypical of feminine nouns undergoing this process to exhibit an -ᵿ- / -i- just after the first element t- / t- of the circumfix t... (t) / t ... (t).

oᵿᵿᵿᵿ / adlis	“book”	→	ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ / idlīs	“books”
oEoQ / aḍar	“foot”	→	ᵿEoQl / iḍarṇ	“feet”
t.oᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ / taḥnjirt	“girl”	→	tᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ / tiḥnjirin	“girls”

*(ii). o- / a- // ᵿ- / i- alternation along with the suffixation of -l / -n or one of its variants (-ᵿl / -in, -(o)ll / -(a)wn, -(ᵿ)ll / -(i)wn, -ᵿl / -yn, -tl / -tn).*

oᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ / aḥnjir	“boy”	→	ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ / iḥnjirn	“boys”
oOo / urar	“game, feast”	→	oOo / urarn	“games, feasts”
t.oOo.t / tabrat	“letter”	→	tᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ / tibratin	“letters”
ᵿXᵿ / ixḥ	“head”	→	ᵿXᵿᵿᵿ / ixḥawn	“heads”
ᵿᵿᵿ / izm	“lion”	→	ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ / izmawn	“lions”
oᵿᵿ / awal	“talk”	→	ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ / iwaliwn	“talks”
oᵿᵿᵿ / anbgī	“guest”	→	ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ / inbgīwn	“guests”
oᵿOᵿ / ayṛda	“mouse”	→	ᵿᵿOᵿᵿᵿ / iṛdayn	“mice”
oᵿᵿᵿ / amnyī	“dispute”	→	ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ / imnyitn	“disputes”

### ***b. Broken plural***

Further to the initial vocalic alternation *o-* / *a-* // *ξ-* / *i-*, the plural form may also exhibit stem-internal vowel shifts. When such plural form holds, no suffixation process is resorted to.

◌Λ◌◌◌ / adrar	“mountain”	→	ξΛ◌◌◌ / idurar	“mountains”
◌Θ◌Υ◌◌ / abayus	“monkey”	→	ξΘ◌Υ◌◌ / ibuyas	“monkeys”
◌X◌Λξ◌ / agadir	“wall, castle”	→	ξX◌Λ◌◌ / igudar	“walls, castles”
◌X◌◌◌ / agartil	“mat”	→	ξX◌◌◌ / agartil	“mats”
◌◌◌◌◌ / tiymas	“tooth”	→	◌◌◌◌◌ / tiymas	“teeth”
◌X◌◌◌ / azmz	“time”	→	ξX◌◌◌ / izmaz	“times”
◌◌◌◌ / amaḍun	“ill person”	→	ξ◌◌◌◌ / imuḍan	“ill people”

### ***c. Mixed plural (suffixation and internal vocalic alteration)***

The mixed plural form may well be created by an internal and / or final alteration of the noun stem vowel(s) as well as by the affixation of *-l* / *-n*.

ξ◌ξ / ili	“part”	→	ξ◌◌ / ilan	“parts”
ξXξ◌◌ / izikr	“rope”	→	ξX◌◌◌ / izakarn	“ropes”
◌◌◌ / urtu	“orchard”	→	◌◌◌ / urtan	“orchards”
◌◌◌ / uccn	“jackal”	→	◌◌◌◌ / uccann	“jackals”
◌X◌ / ugl	“tooth”	→	◌X◌◌ / uglan	“teeth”

Sometimes, when the initial vowel is changed, a concomitant alteration obtains on the medial and final vowels.

◌◌◌ / amalu	“shade”	→	ξ◌◌◌ / imula	“shades”
◌Υ◌◌◌ / aybalu	“spring”	→	ξΥ◌◌◌ / iybula	“springs”
◌◌X◌◌◌ / amggaru	“the last (sing.)”	→	ξ◌X◌◌◌ / imggura	“the last (plr.)”

**d. Plural of nouns preceded by ɔ- / u- and ɔʔt- / ult-**

Sing.	Gloss		Plr.
ɔ ʔtɔ.ʔɛɔʔ / u tmazirt	“fellow citizen (masc.)”	→	ɔʔt ʔtɔ.ʔɛɔʔ / ayt tmazirt
ɔʔt ʔtɔ.ʔɛɔʔ / ult tmazirt	“fellow citizen (fem.)”	→	ɛɔʔt ʔtɔ.ʔɛɔʔ / ist tmazirt

**e. The plural with ɛʌ / id**

Under this category, singular nouns take a pre-nominal morpheme ɛʌ / id to shape their plural form. Nouns belonging to this category may be set out as follows: proper nouns, kinship nouns, compound nouns, numerals and some consonant-initial nouns. To this category, we can also add some borrowed nouns which may well be viewed to have integrated the morphology of the Amazigh language.

ɛʔɔɔ.ɪ / muran	“strapping person”	→	ɛʌ ɛʔɔɔ.ɪ / id murran	“strapping people”
θɔ.θɛɛ / Brahim	“Brahim”	→	ɛʌ θɔ.θɛɛ / id Brahim	“The Brahims”
θɔʔɔ. / butgra	“turtle”	→	ɛʌ θɔʔɔ. / id butgra	“turtles”
θɔʔ.ɔ. / butagant	“wild boar”	→	ɛʌ θɔʔ.ɔ. / id butagant	“wild boars”
θɔ ɛʔɔ.ɪ / bu islman	“fish merchant”	→	ɛʌ θɔ ɛʔɔ.ɪ / id bu islman	“fish merchants”
ɛ ʔɛʔ. / m ufus	“one-armed woman”	→	ɛʌ ɛ ʔɛʔ. / id m ufus	“one-armed women”
θ.θ ɪ ʔɛɛɛ / bab n tgm̄mi	“house owner”	→	ɛʌ θ.θ ɪ ʔɛɛɛ / id bab n tgm̄mi	“house owners”
ʔ.ʔ ɪ ʔɛɛ. / lal n uxxam	“housewife”	→	ɛʌ ʔ.ʔ ɪ ʔɛɛ. / id lal n uxxam	“housewives”
ʔ.ʔ ʔ. / war laman	“traitor”	→	ɛʌ ʔ.ʔ ʔ. / id war laman	“traitors”
ʔ.ʔ ʔ. / tar laman	“traitor (fem.)”	→	ɛʌ ʔ.ʔ ʔ. / id tar laman	“traitors (fem.)”
ʔ.ʔ / xali	“uncle (my)”	→	ɛʌ ʔ.ʔ / id xali	“my uncles”

ⵍⵔⵓⵎ / mraw	“ten”	→	ⵍⵔⵓⵎⵉ / id mraw	“tens”
ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏ / alf	“thousand”	→	ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏⵉ / id walf	“thousands”
ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏ / lkamyu	“lorry”	→	ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏⵉ / id lkamyu	“lorries”

### ***f. The plural form of integrated borrowed nouns***

Borrowings which abide by the laws of Amazigh morphology are labelled integrated borrowings. The borrowings which fall under this category map their plural form in the same fashion in which Amazigh nouns map their plural forms. Non-integrated borrowings keep their original plural form or take the pre-posed morpheme ⵍⵔ / id.

ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏ / adrim	“coin (money)”	→	ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏⵉ / idrimn	“money”
ⵜⵓⵍⵓⵏⵉⵔ / tawriqt	“a sheet (paper)”	→	ⵜⵓⵍⵓⵏⵉⵔⵉ / tiwriqin	“sheets (paper)”
ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔ / afmliiy	“a nurse (masc.)”	→	ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵉ / ifmliyn	“nurses (masc.)”
ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔ / abukadyu	“sandwich”	→	ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵉ / ibukadyutn	“sandwiches”
ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔ / lħmmam	“steam bath”	→	ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵉ / lħmmamat	“steam baths”

### ***g. Nouns in singular or plural form only***

A whole range of nouns do not have more than one number specification. They surface as singular nouns or as plural nouns only. Other nouns derive their singular form from different roots.

#### *(i) Singular nouns with no plural form*

ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏ / laḥ	“hunger”
ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏ / fad	“thirst”
ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏ / lmut	“death”
ⵜⵓⵍⵓⵏⵉⵔ / takrza	“ploughing”
ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔ / ⵜⵓⵍⵓⵏⵉⵔ - baḍaḍ / tayri	“love”

(ii) *Plural nouns with no singular form*

◌ᐅᐅᐅᐅ / aman	“water”
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / idammn	“blood”
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ - iwdan / middn	“people”

***h. Nouns whose plural form is lexically different from their counterparts in the singular form***

ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / tisitan	“cows”	→	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / tafunast	“cow”
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / tiyallin	“mares”	→	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / tagmart	“a mare”
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / tisdnan	“women”	→	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / tamᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	“a woman”

**1.3. State: free vs. construct**

State opposition (*free state* vs. *construct state*) may well be viewed to fall under inflectional morphology since grammatical category does not change when nouns move from the free to the construct state. This phenomenon is replete in the lexicon. Under this phenomenon, the first syllable of a noun is morpho-phonologically affected if it meets the conditions necessary for the formation of the construct state.

Nouns subject to this rule are basically vowel-initial (◌ᐅ- / a-, ᐅᐅ- / i-, ᐅᐅᐅ- / u-) masculine nouns. Consonant-initial nouns, no matter how and where they appear, never exhibit state opposition. Conversely, feminine nouns, when preceded by an initial consonant ᐅ / t, undergo the changes exercised by the construct state by dropping the vowel that comes after the first segment of the circumfix ᐅ...ᐅ / t ... t.

***a. Free State***

Under the free state, the initial vowel of a masculine noun evinces no modification whatsoever. The same display holds also for the vowel that follows the marker ᐅ / t in feminine nouns.

◌ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / argaz	“man”
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / izm	“lion”



ᠶᠣᠲᠤ / urtu	“orchard”
ᠲᠤᠴᠤᠲᠤ / tamurt	“land, country”
ᠲᠢᠶᠢᠶᠢ / tifiyyi	“meat”
ᠲᠤᠰᠤᠨᠠ / tussna	“knowledge, culture”

Generally, nouns take the free state form when they are isolated. In non-isolated contexts, nouns may take the free or the construct state form depending on syntactic position. The contexts in which nouns appear in the free state in non-isolated contexts are laid out below:

- *After a vocative, a deictic of presentation or an interrogative pronoun*

ᠲᠤᠴᠤᠲᠤ ! / a tamyard !	“Hey, woman!”
ᠶᠣᠳᠤ ! / a irban !	“Hey, children!”
ᠤᠨ ᠶᠤᠭᠤᠷ. / ha ayyur.	“Here is the moon.”
ᠤᠨ ᠠᠰᠤᠮᠠᠳ. / ha nn aslmad.	“There is the teacher.”
ᠤᠨ ᠤᠰᠠᠭᠠ. / ha nn usḡay.	“There is the greyhound.”
ᠤᠨ ᠠᠰᠤᠮᠠᠳ. / aqa aslmad.	“Here is the teacher.”
ᠤᠨ ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠵᠢᠷ ? / man aḡnjir ?	“Which child?”
ᠤᠨ ᠲᠤᠷᠪᠠᠲ ? / man tarbat ?	“Which girl?”
ᠤᠨ ᠲᠤᠴᠤᠲᠤ ? / matta tmurt a ?	“What is this country?”

- *As a direct object of a verb:*

ᠠᠨ ᠲᠤᠲᠤᠷᠠᠨ ᠠᠶᠢᠳᠤᠰ. / da tturarn aḡidus.	“They are dancing Ahidus.”
ᠶᠤᠵᠢᠨ ᠠᠰᠤᠨ ᠲᠤᠷᠪᠠᠲ. / yuzn asn tarbat.	“He sent them a letter.”
ᠶᠤᠰᠠ ᠠᠰᠤᠮᠠᠳ ᠠᠳᠢᠯᠢᠰ. / isya uslmad adlis.	“The teacher bought a book.”
ᠶᠤᠴᠤᠨ ᠠᠰ ᠶᠤᠵᠢᠨ. / qqarn as izm.	“They call him the lion.”

- *As a pre-posed subject, a topic indicator, a predicate or after the predication particle ᠠ / d:*

ᠠᠰᠤᠮᠠᠳ ᠢᠷᠠᠬ. / aslmad irah.	“The teacher is gone.”
ᠠᠰᠤᠮᠠᠳ, ᠢᠷᠠᠬ. / aslmad, irah.	“The teacher, he is gone.”
ᠶᠤᠷᠰ ᠲᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠ ᠶᠤᠳᠠᠨ. / yurs tanakḡa iyudan.	“He has a nice mat.”

Λ ◦Θℳℒ. / d aslm.	“It is a fish.”
◦○ Λ †◦ℒ◦○† ◦ℓ◦ ◦ℑ◦. / ur d tamurt inu aya.	“This is not my country.”
Σ◦ Λ ◦Θ◦℥◦Θ ◦ℑ◦ ? / is d abayus aya ?	“Is this a monkey?”
ℒ◦ Λ ◦○Θ◦? / ma d arba ?	“Is it a child?”
Σℑ◦ ℑ◦ℓ Λ ◦℥◦Λ◦. / iga zun d ayrda ?	“He is like a mouse.”

- As a qualifier (quality noun) after a qualified noun:

◦ℑ◦◦ℓ ◦ℒℑℑ◦◦ℓ / agraw amqqran	“The big crowd”
◦Θℓ◦ℑ ◦ℑℳΛ◦ℓ / asinag agldan	“The Royal Institute”
◦ℒΣΛ◦Θ ◦ℑΘℓ◦† / ahidus akswat	“Great Ahidus”

- After the following morphemes:

- ◦ℳ / al “until, till” and Θℳ◦ / bla “without”

ΣΛΛ◦ ◦ℳ ◦Λ◦◦◦. / idda al adrar.	“He went to the mountain.”
†ΛΛ◦ Θℳ◦ ◦ℑ◦◦Θ. / tdda bla aqrab.	“She went without a bag.”

- ℥◦Θ / yas and ℥Σ◦ / yir “only”

℥◦Θ ◦ℑ◦◦ℑ ◦ℑ ℑ◦ℑℑ℥. / yas afrux ay zrix. “I saw the child only.”

- The privative ℓ◦○ / war “without (masc.)”, †◦○ / tar “without (fem.)” and the derogatory negator ℑ◦○ / gar.

ℓ◦○ ΣΛ◦Σℒℓ / war idrimn	“without money, penniless”
†◦○ ◦○○◦ℓ / tar arraw	“without children, sterile woman”
ℑ◦○ †◦ℓ◦○Σ / gar tawuri	“nasty business”

## b. Construct State

A noun in the construct state is specified by an alteration of the first vowel in specific syntactic positions. Construct state forms are conditioned by the nature of the initial vowel as well as by the gender (masc. and fem.) and the number (sing. and plr.) of the noun.

(i) Syntactic contexts in which the construct state obtains

The construct state obtains in the following syntactic positions:

- When the noun has the syntactic function of a lexical subject and it is post-posed to the verb:

ያዕፍ ለ ሳጢሮሊ. / yus d uslmad	“The teacher has come.” (FS: ሳጢሮሊ / aslmad)
ተዕፍ ለ ተጢሮሊት. / tus d tslmadt	“The teacher (fem.) has come.” (FS: ተሳጢሮሊት / taslmadt)

- After a preposition, to the exception of ሳጢ / al “till, until” and ፀጢ / bla “without”:

ፀሰጢዋ ሂ ሳጢሮሊ. / siwly i unccad	“I have talked to the poet.” (FS: ሳጢሮሊ / anccad)
ሳጢ ለ ተሮጾዕት / awal n tmazirt	“the homeland language” (FS: ተሮጾዕት / tamazirt)
ኧዘዋ ጸ ሳጢዕ. / iffy g unzar.	“He went out while it was raining.” (FS: ሳጢዕ / anzar)
ኧዘ። ጸዘ ሳጢዕ. / illa xf ukabar.	“He leads the troop.” (FS: ሳጢዕ / akabar)
ኧጢዕ ተ ሃዕ ሳጢዕ. / izra t yr umzil.	“He saw him at the smiths.” (FS: ሳጢዕ / amzil)
ኧጢዕ ጸ ሳጢዕ. / izdy g ujdin.	“He lives in Ajdir.” (FS: ሳጢዕ / ajdir)

- After a coordinator:

ሳጢዕ ለ ፀፀርዕ / anzar d usmmid “rain and cold”

- After the morphemes ሳ / u, ሳጢ / ult, ሳት / ayt, ኧት / ist, ፀ። / bu and ፀ (ፀፀ) / m (mm) denoting attribution, affiliation or belonging:

ኧት (l) ተሮጾዕት / ist (n) tmazirt	“fellow citizens (fem.)” (FS: ተሮጾዕት / tamazirt)
ፀ። ሳጢዕ / Bu uyanim	“flute player” (FS: ሳጢዕ / ayanim)
ፀ ተሰጢዕ / m tnakriwin	“the mat seller (fem.)” (FS: ተሰጢዕ / tinakriwin)

- After a numeral, regardless if it is followed by the genitive preposition ለ or not:

𐤔𐤌 𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤔 / yan umnay	“one knight” (FS: 𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤔 / amnay)
𐤔𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤔 / ijj n urba	“one boy” (FS: 𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤔 / arba)
𐤔𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤔𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / yat (n) tmttuḏt	“one woman” (FS: 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / tamttuḏt)
𐤔𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / ict n thnjirt	“one girl” (FS: 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / taḥnjirt)
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / snat (n) tfirasin	“two pears” (FS: 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / tifirasin)
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / kṛaḏt (n) teyyalin	“three girls” (FS: 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / tieyyalin)

- After 𐤔𐤌 / id “of”:

𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / sin id walf      “two thousand”

(ii) Construct state forms

- The construct state of singular masculine nouns with an initial vowel 𐤓- / a-, 𐤓- / u- or 𐤔- / i-:

- The alternation 𐤓- / a- → 𐤓- / u-:

FS	Gloss		CS
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / afiras	“pear”	→	𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / ufiras
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / aḥwac	“Ahwash”	→	𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / uḥwac
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / aḏalim	“onion”	→	𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / uḏalim

- Preserving initial 𐤓- / a-, 𐤓- / u-, 𐤔- / i- while prefixing 𐤕- / w- and 𐤔- / y-:

FS	Gloss		CS
𐤕𐤕𐤕 / anu	“well”	→	𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / wanu
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / aman	“water”	→	𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / waman
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / asif	“river”	→	𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / wasif
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / udm	“face”	→	𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / wudm
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / ury	“gold”	→	𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / wury
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / izi	“fly”	→	𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / yizi
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / ifri	“cave”	→	𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / yifri

- Construct state of singular feminine nouns with initial ተ- / ta-, ተ- / tu- or ተጅ- / ti-:

- Loss of the initial vowel -o- / -a- or -o- / -u-:

<u>FS</u>	<u>Gloss</u>		<u>CS</u>
ተ.ፍ.ዐተ / tamurt	“land , country”	→	ተፍ.ዐተ / tmurt
ተ.ፍ.ሃ.ዐተ / tamyart	“woman”	→	ተፍ.ሃ.ዐተ / tmyart
ተጅጃጃጃዐተ / tizikrt	“small rope”	→	ተጃጃጃዐተ / tzikrt
ተጅዘዐጅተ / tifrit	“small cave”	→	ተዘዐጅተ / tfrit

- Preserving the initial vowel -o- / -a-, -o- / -u- or -ጅ- / -i-:

<u>FS</u>	<u>Gloss</u>		<u>CS</u>
ተ.ዐ.ተ / tanut	“small well”	→	ተ.ዐ.ተ / tanut
ተ.ጸ.ተ / tagut	“fog”	→	ተ.ጸ.ተ / tagut
ተ.ፈ.ፈ.ዐተ / taddart	“house”	→	ተ.ፈ.ፈ.ዐተ / taddart
ተ.ፍ.ፈ.ጅተ / taydit	“she-dog”	→	ተ.ፍ.ፈ.ጅተ / taydit
ተ.ዐ.ተ.ጅተ / turtit	“small orchard”	→	ተ.ዐ.ተ.ጅተ / turtit
ተ.ፈ.ጅተ / tudit	“butter”	→	ተ.ፈ.ጅተ / tudit
ተ.ፍ.ፍ.ጅተ / tucent	“she-wolf”	→	ተ.ፍ.ፍ.ጅተ / tucent
ተጅጃጅተ / tizit	“midge”	→	ተጅጃጅተ / tizit
ተጅተዐጅተ / titrit	“star”	→	ተጅተዐጅተ / titrit

- Construct state of plural nouns:

- Preservation of the initial vowel ጅ- / i- in the masc. plr. form and its loss in the fem. plr. form:

<u>FS</u>	<u>Gloss</u>		<u>CS</u>
ጅዘፌ.ሃ፡፡ / ilqayn	“lambs”	→	ጅዘፌ.ሃ፡፡ / ilqayn
ተጅዘፌ.ሃጅ፡፡ / tilqayin	“ewe lambs”	→	ተዘፌ.ሃጅ፡፡ / tlqayin
ጅፍጅዐዐ.፡፡ / icirran	“children”	→	ጅፍጅዐዐ.፡፡ / icirran
ተጅፍጅዐዐ.ተጅ፡፡ / ticirratin	“girls”	→	ተፍጅዐዐ.ተጅ፡፡ / tcirratin
ጅጃዘ.፡፡ / izlan	“songs”	→	ጅጃዘ.፡፡ / izlan
ተጅጃዘ.ተጅ፡፡ / tizlatin	“songs”	→	ተጃዘ.ተጅ፡፡ / tzlatin
ጅዐ.ዘዘ፡፡ / isaffn	“rivers”	→	ጅዐ.ዘዘ፡፡ / isaffn
ተጅዐ.ዘዘጅ፡፡ / tisaffin	“small rivers”	→	ተዐ.ዘዘጅ፡፡ / tsaffin

- Prefixing  $\sqcup$  / w in the masc. plr. form and preserving the vowel  $\circ$ - / a-,  $\circ$ - / u- in the fem. plr. form:

<b>FS</b>	<b>Gloss</b>		<b>CS</b>
$\circ\text{O}\text{X}\circ\text{I}$ / argan	“argan”	→	$\sqcup\circ\text{O}\text{X}\circ\text{I}$ / wargan
$\dagger\circ\text{O}\text{X}\circ\text{I}\xi\text{I}$ / targanin	“argan trees”	→	$\dagger\circ\text{O}\text{X}\circ\text{I}\xi\text{I}$ / targanin
$\circ\text{I}\circ$ / una	“wells”	→	$\sqcup\circ\text{I}\circ$ / wuna
$\dagger\circ\text{I}\circ$ / tuna	“small wells”	→	$\dagger\circ\text{I}\circ$ / tuna
$\circ\wedge\text{C}\circ\sqcup\text{I}$ / udmawn	“faces”	→	$\sqcup\circ\wedge\text{C}\circ\sqcup\text{I}$ / wudmawn
$\dagger\circ\wedge\text{C}\circ\sqcup\xi\text{I}$ / tudmawin	“small faces”	→	$\dagger\circ\wedge\text{C}\circ\sqcup\xi\text{I}$ / tudmawin

- Maintenance of the vowel  $\xi$ - / i- in the masc. plr. form and its loss in the fem. plr. form:

<b>FS</b>	<b>Gloss</b>		<b>CS</b>
$\xi\text{X}\circ\text{R}\circ\text{O}\text{I}$ / izakarn	“ropes”	→	$\xi\text{X}\circ\text{R}\circ\text{O}\text{I}$ / izakarn
$\dagger\xi\text{X}\circ\text{R}\circ\text{O}\xi\text{I}$ / tizakarin	“small ropes”	→	$\dagger\text{X}\circ\text{R}\circ\text{O}\xi\text{I}$ / tzakarin
$\xi\text{H}\text{O}\circ\text{I}$ / ifran	“caves”	→	$\xi\text{H}\text{O}\circ\text{I}$ / ifran
$\dagger\xi\text{H}\text{O}\circ\dagger\xi\text{I}$ / tifratin	“small caves”	→	$\dagger\text{H}\text{O}\circ\dagger\xi\text{I}$ / tfratin
$\xi\text{X}\circ\text{C}\text{I}$ / ixamn	“houses”	→	$\xi\text{X}\circ\text{C}\text{I}$ / ixamn
$\dagger\xi\text{X}\circ\text{C}\xi\text{I}$ / tixamin	“tents, houses”	→	$\dagger\text{X}\circ\text{C}\xi\text{I}$ / txamin

### Summary tables of Construct State formation

<b>Masculine</b>		
	<b>Free State</b>	<b>Construct State</b>
<b>Singular</b>	$\circ\text{.....}$ / a..... $\circ\text{.....}$ / a..... $\xi\text{.....}$ / i..... $\circ\text{.....}$ / u.....	$\circ\text{.....}$ / u..... $\sqcup\circ\text{.....}$ / wa..... $\xi$ / $\xi\xi\text{.....}$ / i / yi..... $\sqcup\circ\text{.....}$ / wu.....
<b>Plural</b>	$\xi\text{.....I}$ / i.....n $\circ\text{.....I}$ / a.....n $\xi\text{.....I}$ / i.....n $\circ\text{.....o(I)}$ / u.....a(n) $\xi\text{.....I}$ / i.....n $\circ\text{.....I}$ / u.....n $\text{c}^8\text{.....}$ $\xi\wedge\text{c.....}$ / id c.....	$\xi\text{.....I}$ / i.....n $\sqcup\circ\text{.....I}$ / wa.....n $\xi\text{.....I}$ / i.....n $\sqcup\circ\text{.....o(I)}$ / wu.....a(n) $\xi\text{.....I}$ / i.....n $\sqcup\circ\text{.....I}$ / wu.....n $\text{c.....}$ $\xi\wedge\text{c.....}$ / id c.....

<sup>8</sup>- c stands for a consonant.

	Feminine	
	Free State	Construct State
<b>Singular</b>	†o.....(†) / ta.....(t) †o.....(†) / ta.....(t) †ξ.....(†) / ti.....(t) †ξ.....(†) / ti.....(t) †°.....(†) / tu.....(t)	†.....(†) / t.....(t) †o.....(†) / ta.....(t) †.....(†) / t.....(t) †ξ.....(†) / ti.....(t) †°.....(†) / tu.....(t)
<b>Plural</b>	†ξ.....l / ti.....n †o.....ξl / ta.....in †ξ.....ξl / ti.....in †°.....ξl / tu.....in †ξ.....(l) / ti.....(n) †°.....ξl / tu.....in †o.....ξl / ta.....in c.....(o†) / c.....(at)	†.....l / t.....n †.....ξl / t.....in †.....ξl / t.....in †°.....ξl / tu.....in †.....ξl / t.....in †°.....ξl / tu.....in †o.....ξl / ta.....in c.....(o†) / c.....at

## 2. Derived and compound nouns

Derived and compound nouns are complex forms of nouns that result from morphological or lexical processes. Both the derived and the compound forms obtain from the adjunction of two or more lexical units.

### 2.1. Derived nouns

A derived noun may well be formed by an initial or final affixation of a derivational morpheme to a simple noun. Yet, it should be contended that defining derivation along the above terms is but a pedagogical simplification. Affixal derivation does not hold via prefixation and suffixation only; some other alterations may obtain in the stem of the word. More often than not, derivation is more than affixation only; it involves alterations in the stem as well as in the vocalic melodies of the word.

It is on the basis of the strategies laid out above that nouns such as action, agentive, instrumental, place and quality nouns are derived.

#### *a. Action nouns*

An action noun is derived from a (simple or derived) verb that expresses an abstract or concrete action. Derivation, which takes the aorist theme (neutral form) as its basic form, is usually associated with some changes within the stem. The main procedures along which the derivation of action nouns is carried out are set out below:

- (i) ɔ- / a- prefixation;
- (ii) ɔ̃- / u- prefixation;
- (iii) ʒ- / i- prefixation;
- (iv) circumfixation of the feminine morpheme t...t / t...t;
- (v) ʁ- / l- prefixation to loan words from Arabic.

(i) ɔ- / a- prefixation along with some alterations in the stem

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>		<u>Verb</u>
ɔ.ʒɪ.ʒɔ / ɔ.ʒɪ.ʒɔ aznza / azznuz	“selling”	<	ʒɪ.ʒɪ / zznz
ɔ.θʌ.ɔ / abdar	“mentioning”	<	θʌ.ɔ / bdr
ɔ.ʁɔ.ʁɔ / afrfr	“flying”	<	ʁɔ.ʁɔ / frfr
ɔ.ʔɔ.ʔɔ / asqsi	“question”	<	ʔɔ.ʔɔ / sqsa
ɔ.ʌ.ɔ / andar	“uprooting”	<	ʌ.ɔ / ndr
ɔ.ʔɔ.ʔɔ / astay	“filtering”	<	ʔɔ.ʔɔ / sty
ɔ.ʔɔ.ʔɔ / aymas	“covering”	<	ʔɔ.ʔɔ / yms
ɔ.ʁɪ.ʁɪ / akttay	“rememberance”	<	ʁɪ.ʁɪ / kti
ɔ.ʔɔ.ʔɔ / ayimi	“sitting”	<	ʔɔ.ʔɔ / qqim
ɔ.θθ.ʔɔ / abbay	“bite, tearing”	<	θθ.ʔɔ / bby
ɔ.ʔɔ.ʔɔ / aslmd	“teaching”	<	ʔɔ.ʔɔ / sslmd
ɔ.ʔɔ.ʔɔ / asunsi	“wandering”	<	ʔɔ.ʔɔ / sunsi

(ii) ɔ̃- prefixation associated with some alterations in the stem

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>		<u>Verb</u>
ɔ̃.ʁɪ.ʔɔ / ufuy	“going out”	→	ʁɪ.ʁɪ / ffy
ɔ̃.ʔɔ.ʔɔ / uduɔ̃	“suckling”	→	ʔɔ.ʔɔ / ttd
ɔ̃.ʔɔ.ʔɔ / unuɔ̃	“loitering, sticking”	→	ʔɔ.ʔɔ / nnd
ɔ̃.ʔɔ.ʔɔ / umiy	“fight”	→	ʔɔ.ʔɔ / mmay

(iii) ʒ- prefixation

ʒ.ʒɪ.ʒɪ / ɪzɪɔ̃	“milling”	→	ʒɪ.ʒɪ / ɔ̃ɔ̃	“to grind”
ʒ.ʒɪ.ʒɪ / ɪzɪmi	“pressure”	→	ʒɪ.ʒɪ / ɔ̃mm	“to press”
ʒ.ʔɔ.ʔɔ / imnyɪ	“dispute, fight”	→	ʔɔ.ʔɔ / ny	“to kill”



(iv) *circumfixation of the feminine morpheme: ʔ...(+)/t...(+), ʔ...(+)/ta...(+), ʔ...(+)/ti...(+)* and ʔ...(+)/tu...(+) *associated with vocalic alteration of the initial or final vowel ɔ / a, ɛ / i or ɔ / u and the gemination of a root consonant in some action nouns*

Noun	Gloss		Verb
ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / tamunt	“company”	→	ʔ.ʔ / mun
ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / tankra	“getting up”	→	ʔ.ʔ / nkr
ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / tawargit	“dream”	→	ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ. // warg / warga
ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / tizmmar	“ability”	→	ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / zmr
ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / tigni	“sewing”	→	ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / gnu
ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ // tissi / tissa	“drinking”	→	ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / su
ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / tudrt	“life”	→	ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / ddr
ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / tujjut	“nice smell”	→	ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / jju
ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / tussna	“knowledge”	→	ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / ssn

(v) *Prefixation of Arabic ʔ- / l- to some loan words*

The prefix ʔ- / l- may assimilate to the initial consonant of the verb, forming, thereby, a geminate with the consonant that follows.

ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / lhmu	“heat”	→	ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / hmu	“to be hot”
ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / rrhmt	“clemence”	→	ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / rhm	“to be clement”
ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / zzyyʔ	“tightening”	→	ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / zzyyʔ	“to tighten”
ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / litihal	“marriage”	→	ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.ʔ / tahl	“to marry”

## b. Agentive nouns

Agentive nouns are derived from action verbs. While the agentive noun generally refers to the real doer of the action, it may refer as well to the patient that receives the action. Agentive nouns usually refer to animate beings, a situation which explains their variation in gender and number. The close lexical and semantic connection that holds between an agentive noun and an

action noun is patently clear in most cases, namely when they are derived from the same verb. Some agentive nouns may well behave like quality nouns, most notably when the basic verb expresses an abstract action.

There are four different fashions in which an agentive noun can be derived, namely by prefixing one of the following four elements:  $\circ-$  / a-,  $\circ\text{C}-$  /  $\circ\text{l}-$  // am- / an-,  $\text{X}\text{C}-$  / im-,  $\text{X}-$  / i- to the verb stem. The stem may also recognize further vocalic alterations.

$\circ\text{I}\text{U}\text{U}\text{C}$ / anwwac	“slanderer”	→	$\text{I}\text{U}\text{U}\text{C}$ / nwwc	“to slander”
$\circ\text{C}\text{O}\text{K}\text{O}$ / amagr	“thief”	→	$\circ\text{K}\text{O}$ / agr	“steal”
$\circ\text{C}\text{l}\text{o}\text{X}$ / amnay	“knight”	→	$\text{l}\text{X}$ / ny	“to ride”
$\circ\text{C}\text{O}\text{X}\text{O}$ / amarir	“singer, poet”	→	$\text{:O}\text{O}$ / urar	“to sing, dance”
$\circ\text{l}\text{O}\text{X}\text{X}\text{H}$ / anzif	“visitor”	→	$\text{O}\text{X}\text{X}\text{H}$ / rzzf	“to visit”
$\circ\text{l}\text{O}\text{X}\text{C}$ / anazum	“faster (person)”	→	$\circ\text{X}\text{C}$ / azum	“to fast”
$\circ\text{l}\text{C}\text{C}\text{O}\text{A}\text{A}\text{:}$ / anmmaddu	“traveller”	→	$\text{C}\text{C}\text{:O}\text{A}\text{A}\text{:}$ / mmuaddu	“to travel”
$\text{X}\text{C}\text{K}\text{X}\text{O}\text{X}$ / imkiri	“day labourer”	→	$\text{K}\text{O}\text{:}$ / kru	“to hire”

### *c. Instrumental nouns*

An instrumental noun is derived from an action noun, regardless if it is simple or derived. Instrumental nouns refer to the tool or means by which the action is implemented.

Instrumental nouns are generally formed by the prefixation of  $\circ-$  / a- //  $\circ\text{C}-$  / as- to the verbal theme. Sometimes, the affixation is concomitant with some vocalic or consonantal alterations in the verb stem.

$\circ\text{l}\text{X}\text{H}$ / anzl	“goad”	<	$\text{l}\text{X}\text{H}$ / nzl	“to prick”
$\circ\text{C}\text{O}\text{X}\text{H}$ / asrgl	“lid”	<	$\text{O}\text{X}\text{H}$ / rgl	“to close”

᠎ᠠᠰᠭᠠᠨᠢ / ᠠᠰᠰᠭᠠᠨᠢ asgni / issgni	“big needle”	<	ᠭᠠᠨᠠ / gnu	“to sew”
ᠠᠰᠳᠳᠤᠯ / ᠠᠰᠳᠤᠯ asddul / asdl	“covering”	<	ᠳᠤᠯᠤ / dl	“to cover”
ᠠᠰᠠᠭᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠ / asqqun	“lid”	<	ᠠᠰᠠᠭᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠ / qqn	“to close”
ᠠᠰᠠᠭᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠ / askrf	“hobble”	<	ᠠᠰᠠᠭᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠ / krf	“to hobble”
ᠠᠰᠠᠭᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠ / asmsd	“sharpener”	<	ᠠᠰᠠᠭᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠ / imsid	“to be sharpened”
ᠠᠰᠠᠭᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠ / tasxsit	“ashtray”	<	ᠠᠰᠠᠭᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠ / xsi	“to be put out (fire)”
ᠠᠰᠠᠭᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠ / tasramt	“pencil- sharpener”	<	ᠠᠰᠠᠭᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠ / srm	“to sharpen”

## 2.2. Compound nouns

Nominal compounding is less productive than derivation. Nominal compounding may well be viewed as a process whereby two elements are conjoined into a single noun that has a separate meaning. This meaning is usually the semantic combination of the meanings of the two words which are conjoined into the compound noun. The elements making up the compound noun may belong to the same lexical category as much as they may belong to different categories. The different fashions in which nominal compounding holds are laid out as follows:

### *a- Noun + l / n + noun*

This sort of compounding relates two nouns by the genitive preposition l / n “of”; the second element of the compound is a complement that determines the first. More often than not, the compound noun is lexicalised into an idiomatic fixed form. The combination “noun + l / n + noun” behaves syntactically as a single noun and its plural form is derived by the use of ᠰᠠᠨ / id:

ᠠᠮᠠᠷᠢᠨᠠᠨᠢᠵᠠᠨᠠᠨᠢᠵᠠᠨ / amarir n izlan	“poems singer = sort of fish”
ᠠᠭᠤᠨᠠᠨᠢᠵᠠᠨᠠᠨᠢᠵᠠᠨ / agru n lbur	“frog of uncultivated land = toad”

ተ.ጸር.ዐተ   ጸፀር፤። / tagmart n ismdal	“cemetery mare = unicorn”
ዐጼ.።፤፤   ሀ፡።።   aḫalim n wuccn	“wolf onion = spring squill”
ዐር.   ሀ.ዐ፡ዐ / aman n marur	“marur water = mirage”
ዐ፤ጸ፤   ፀፀፀ፤ / anbgi n ṛbbi	“God’s guest = guest”
ተ.።።፤፤   ፤.፤. ፀፀፀ፤ / talymt n baba ṛbbi	“camel of my Lord = praying mantis”

### ***b- Noun + noun***

A compound noun may well take the form of two conjoined nouns where the modified noun comes first. It can be a quality noun:

፤.፤. ፀፀፀ፤ / baba ṛbbi “Father-God = God”

### ***c- Noun + participle***

Under this display, the noun is the subject of the participle (a quality verb) that follows. Considered more carefully, the string is a reduced relative clause without a relative pronoun to join the two elements.

ዐር.   ፤ፂ፤፤   aman ḍṛnin	“falling water = dew”
፤.፤ ር፡፡፡፡፡   bab mqurn	“father being old = grandfather”

### ***d- Verb + noun***

Under this form, the sequence is made up of a transitive verb and its direct object; the whole string is lexicalised.

ሀ.።። ዐር.   waṣl aman	“follows water = raccoon”
ር፤ፂ፤ ፡።   mkṛḍ ul	“scratch heart = misery”
።።፤ ፡፡፡፡፡፡   slm agg <sup>w</sup> rn	“suck up flour = butterfly”
ተ.ዐ ፤።. / ttaṃ kra	“suffer from something = illness”
ዐ፤። ር።።።   akr mllal	“steal white = off-white”

### ***e- Verb + verb***

We are dealing here with two adjacent verbs which behave syntactically as a single unit:

ፀፀፀ ሂፕፐ / bṛṛm iyus	“turn it; it is burning = barbecue”
ፀፀፀ ጸፈፈ / bbi zdi	“cut-stick = patched up and fixed”

### 3. Quality nouns

Quality nouns are generally derived from state or quality verbs. They can express a whole range of meanings such as an attribute, a quality, a peculiarity, a colour, a way of being, an imperfection, a form, an infirmity, a moral attitude and many others.

#### 3.1. The structure of quality nouns

The structure of quality nouns is in no way different from the structure of agentive and patient nouns. Deriving quality nouns is implemented along the following strategies:

*a- Prefixing ፀ- / a- to the verbal theme along with a vocalic alternation in the penultimate position of the stem*

ፀሃጸጸፀ / ayzzaf	“tall”	ሂፕጸጸፀ / iyzif	“to be tall”
ፀፀፀፀፀ / abrkan	“black”	ፀፀፀፀ / brkn	“to be black”
ፀፀፀፀፀ / aḍṛyal	“blind”	ፀፀፀፀ / ḍṛyl	“to be blind”
ፀፀፀፀፀ / awssar	“old”	ፀፀፀፀፀ / ፀፀፀፀፀ / ፀፀፀፀፀ //	“to be old”
		wssir / wsur / wsir	

*b- Prefixing ፀፀ / am - ፀፀ / an to the verbal theme coupled with sporadic medial or final vocalic alterations*

ፀፀፀፀፀ / anmyur	“big, important”	ፀፀፀፀፀ / myur	“to be big, important”
ፀፀፀፀፀ / anbur	“bachelor”	ፀፀፀፀፀ / bur	“to be a bachelor”
ፀፀፀፀፀፀ / amllazu	“hungry”	ፀፀፀፀፀፀ / lluz	“to be hungry”
ፀፀፀፀፀፀፀ / amggaru	“last”	ፀፀፀፀፀፀፀ / ፀፀፀፀፀፀፀ / ፀፀፀፀፀፀ //	“to be the last”
		ggru / ggir / ggr	

***c- ʒ- / i- prefixation along with some internal vocalic alterations***

ʒEʒWʒ / idili “black” Eʒ / dlu “to be black”

***d- ɔ- / u- prefixation along with sporadic infixation of ʒ- / i-***

ɔXʒʒi / uxcin	“unkind, ugly”	Xʒi / xcn	“to be unkind, ugly”
ɔCʒWʒ / umlil	“white”	ʒCʒWʒ / CʒWʒ //	“to be white”
ɔZCʒO / uqmir	“narrow”	ZCʒO / qmr	“to be narrow”

### 3.2. Quality nouns uses

Morphologically, a quality noun functions in the same way as an ordinary noun. It takes gender markers (oCʒʒo.ɔ / amzwaru “the first (masc.)” > tɔCʒʒo.ɔt / tamzwarut “the first (fem.)”), number markers (oCʒʒo.ɔ / amzwaru “the first (sing.)” > ʒCʒʒo.ɔ / imzwura “the first (plr.)”) and state markers (oCʒʒo.ɔ / amzwaru “the first (FS)” > ɔCʒʒo.ɔ / umzwaru “the first (CS)”).

A quality noun can either be preceded by the particle ʌ / d “it is” or the copula X / g “to be”.

ʌ oCZZO.l. / d amqqrان.	“It is big.”
ʌ oʒO.ɔ. / d awray.	“It is yellow.”
ʒX. oOθʒo.l. / iga aşbhan.	“He is handsome.”

As a noun modifier, a quality noun directly follows the modified noun with which it agrees in gender and number:

oCʒtɔ.ɔ oCʒWʒ / amktar amllal	“the white horse”
tɔ.ʒtɔt tɔ.ʒWʒC.ɔt / tafust tazlmaqt	“the (small) left hand”
ʒʌIʒOI ʒCʒʒʒo.ʌ / iħnjirn imzzyann	“the little children”

## 4. Numerals

Numerals have their own morphology and structure. They can, therefore, fill all the functions of an ordinary noun.

ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲛ. / mmutn sin.	“Two died.”
ⲙⲕⲙⲓⲛⲓⲛ. / ȝriȝ kkuȝ.	“I saw four.”
ⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛ ⲛⲓⲛ. / mrawt ay ann.	“It is ten (fem.).”

#### 4.1. Numbers from 1 to 10

Not all Amazigh varieties have preserved the original numeral paradigms.

The numbers from 1 to 10 vary in gender; the feminine form obtains by adding the suffix *+-* / *t-* to the masculine form:

<u>Masc.</u>		<u>Fem.</u>	
ⲥⲥⲟⲩ / smmus	>	ⲥⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛ / smmust	“five”
ⲥⲟⲩ / sa	>	ⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛ / sat	“seven”
ⲛⲓⲛ / tam	>	ⲛⲓⲛⲛⲓⲛ / tamt	“eight”

The noun that follows any of the numerals from 1 to 10 surfaces in the plural form as set out below:

ⲙⲕⲙⲓⲛⲓⲛ (l) ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ / kkuȝ (n) irgazz “four men”	>	ⲙⲕⲙⲓⲛⲓⲛ (l) ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ / kkuȝt (n) tmȝarin “four women”
ⲥⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛ (l) ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ / smmus (n) imħdaȝn “five pupils”	>	ⲥⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ (l) ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ / smmust (n) tmħdaȝn “five pupils” (fem.)

#### *Numerals list*

<b>Masc.</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Fem.</b>
ⲛⲓⲛ, ⲛⲓⲛ, ⲛⲓⲛ / ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ //	“one”	ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ, ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ, ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ / yat, yut, ict
ⲥⲥⲟⲩ / sin	“two”	ⲥⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛ / snat
ⲙⲕⲙⲓⲛ, ⲙⲕⲙⲓⲛ / kṛaȝ / cṛaȝ	“three”	ⲙⲕⲙⲓⲛⲓⲛ, ⲙⲕⲙⲓⲛⲓⲛ / kṛaȝt / cṛaȝt
ⲙⲕⲙⲓⲛ / kkuȝ	“four”	ⲙⲕⲙⲓⲛⲓⲛ / kkuȝt
ⲥⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛ / smmus	“five”	ⲥⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ / smmust
ⲥⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛ / ṣḍiṣ	“six”	ⲥⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ / ṣḍiṣt
ⲥⲟⲩ / sa	“seven”	ⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛ / sat
ⲛⲓⲛ / tam	“eight”	ⲛⲓⲛⲛⲓⲛ / tamt
ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ / tṛa	“nine”	ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ / tṛat
ⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛ / mraw	“ten”	ⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ / mrawt

## 4.2. Numerals from 11 to 19

All the numerals from 11 to 19 are noun phrases made up of the numbers ሥዕ / yan (ሥዕ / yun, ሥII / ሥAI // ij / idj) to ተጼዕ / tṣa conjoined with the number ርዕ። / mraw “ten” via the coordinator ለ / d “and”.

ሥዕ / ሥዕ / ሥII ለ ርዕ። // yan / yun / ij d mraw	“eleven”
፬ሥ ለ ርዕ። / sin d mraw	“twelve”
፳፬። ለ ርዕ። / kṣad d mraw	“thirteen”
ተጼዕ ለ ርዕ። / tṣa d mraw	“nineteen”

Nouns introduced by the preposition ለ / n “of” always take the singular form:

፬ሥ ለ ርዕ። ለ ሰጸጸጸ / sin d mraw n urgaz	“twelve men”
፬ሮ።፬ ለ ርዕ። ለ ተሮሃ።፬ / smmus d mrawt n tmṣart	“fifteen women”

If the numeral is followed by a feminine noun, the numbers of ones surface in the masculine form while the numbers of tens take the feminine marker:

Masc.	Fem.	
ሥዕ ለ ርዕ። / yan d mraw	ሥዕ ለ ርዕ። ለ / yan d mrawt	“eleven”
፬ሥ ለ ርዕ። / sin d mraw	፬ሥ ለ ርዕ። ለ / sin d mrawt	“twelve”
፳፬። ለ ርዕ። / kṣad d mraw	፳፬። ለ ርዕ። ለ / kṣad d mrawt	“thirteen”
፳፳። ለ ርዕ። / kkuz d mraw	፳፳። ለ ርዕ። ለ / kkuz d mrawt	“fourteen”
፬ሮ።፬ ለ ርዕ። / smmus d mraw	፬ሮ።፬ ለ ርዕ። ለ / smmus d mrawt	“fifteen”
፬፻፬ ለ ርዕ። / ṣḍiṣ d mraw	፬፻፬ ለ ርዕ። ለ / ṣḍiṣ d mrawt	“sixteen”
፬። ለ ርዕ። / sa d mraw	፬። ለ ርዕ። ለ / sa d mrawt	“seventeen”
ተ። ለ ርዕ። / tam d mraw	ተ። ለ ርዕ። ለ / tam d mrawt	“eighteen”
ተጼዕ ለ ርዕ። / tṣa d mraw	ተጼዕ ለ ርዕ። ለ / tṣa d mrawt	“nineteen”



### 4.3. Numerals with values of tens

These numerals consist of phrases where numbers from ᠐ᠰᠢ / sin - ᠐ᠢᠤᠳ / snat to ᠲᠡ᠋ᠮᠤ / tza - ᠲᠡ᠋ᠮᠤᠳ / tzaᠲ are conjoined to the number ᠤᠤᠤᠤ / mraw via the plural morpheme ᠰᠢᠠᠨ / id.

These numerals exhibit regular agreement with the gender of the noun that follows (the counted noun). The only numeral which holds as an exception is ᠲᠡ᠋ᠤᠤᠤᠤ / timiḍi (100); it is always observed in the feminine form only.

᠐ᠰᠢ ᠰᠢᠠᠨ ᠤᠤᠤᠤ / sin id mraw	“twenty”
ᠷᠠᠢᠤᠨ ᠰᠢᠠᠨ ᠤᠤᠤᠤ / kṛaḍ id mraw	“thirty”
ᠲᠡ᠋ᠮᠤ ᠰᠢᠠᠨ ᠤᠤᠤᠤ / tza id mraw	“ninety”
ᠲᠡ᠋ᠤᠤᠤᠤ / timiḍi	“a hundred”

### 4.4. Numbers greater than 20

The numbers of tens precede the numbers of ones to which they are associated by ᠠᠨ / d “and”; the whole is linked to the counted noun through the preposition ᠢᠨ / n “of”. The counted noun always surfaces in the singular form:

᠐ᠰᠢ ᠰᠢᠠᠨ ᠤᠤᠤᠤ ᠠᠨ ᠐ᠤᠨ (ᠢ) ᠰᠤᠵᠡᠨᠠᠳᠤ / sin id mraw d sa (n) umḥḍar	“twenty-seven students”
ᠷᠠᠢᠤᠨ ᠰᠢᠠᠨ ᠤᠤᠤᠤᠳᠤ ᠠᠨ ᠰᠤᠳᠤ (ᠢ) ᠲᠤᠵᠡᠨᠠᠳᠤᠲᠤ / kṛaḍ id mrawt d yat (n) tmḥḍarᠲ	“twenty-one students (fem.)”

ᠲᠡ᠋ᠤᠤᠤᠤ “a hundred” (plr. ᠲᠡ᠋ᠤᠤᠤ / timaḍ (FS) // ᠲᠤᠤᠤ / tmaḍ (CS))

The noun that follows ᠲᠡ᠋ᠤᠤᠤᠤ is always in the plural form and is introduced by the preposition ᠢᠨ / n “of”:

ᠲᠡ᠋ᠤᠤᠤᠤ ᠢᠨ ᠲᠤᠨᠠᠰᠢᠨ / timiḍi n tfunasin	“a hundred cows”
ᠲᠡ᠋ᠤᠤᠤᠤ ᠠᠨ ᠰᠤᠢᠨ / timiḍi d yan	“a hundred and one”
ᠲᠡ᠋ᠤᠤᠤᠤ ᠠᠨ ᠲᠡ᠋ᠮᠤ / timiḍi d tza	“a hundred and nine”
ᠲᠡ᠋ᠤᠤᠤᠤ ᠠᠨ ᠐ᠰᠢ ᠰᠢᠠᠨ ᠤᠤᠤᠤ / timiḍi d sin id mraw	“a hundred and twenty”
᠐ᠢᠤᠳᠤ ᠲᠤᠤᠤᠤ / snat tmaḍ	“two hundred”
ᠰᠢᠨᠠᠳᠤ (plr. ᠰᠢᠨᠠᠳᠤᠨ) / ifḍ (plr. afḍan)	“a thousand”
ᠲᠡ᠋ᠤᠤᠤᠤ ᠢᠨ ᠤᠤᠨᠠᠳᠤᠨ / timiḍi n wafḍan	“a hundred thousand”

## 4.5 ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are nouns because they meet all the functions of ordinary nouns. They function also as modifiers of ordinary and kinship nouns. Ordinal numbers bifurcate into two types:

### a. The “first” and the “last”

The two ordinal numbers, “the first” and “the last”, are formed in the same fashion in which quality nouns are formed (i.e. with the prefixation of օԸ / օԼ– am / an).

օԸՃԱօօ / amzwaru	“the first (masc. sing.)”	ተօԸՃԱօօተ / tamzwarut	“the first (fem. sing.)”
չԸՃԱօօ / imzwura	“the first (masc. plr.)”	ተչԸՃԱօօ / timzwura	“the first (fem. plr.)”

The ordinal number presented above is derived from the verb ՃԱօ / ՃԱչօ – zwar / zwir “to precede, to be the first”.

օԸԽԽօօ / amggaru	“the last (masc. sing.)”	ተօԸԽԽօօተ / tamggarut	“the last (fem. sing.)”
չԸԽԽօօ / imggura	“the last (masc. plr.)”	ተչԸԽԽօօ / timggura	“the last (fem. plr.)”

The afore-mentioned ordinal number is derived from the verb ԽԽօօ / ԽԽչօ / ԽԽօ – gguru / ggir / ggr “to lag behind, to be the last”.

### b. Ordinal numbers from “second” and on

To the exception of *last*, ordinal numbers that come after *first* consist of cardinal numbers (see above) preceded by the supporting determination morpheme Աչօ / wis “the one with (masc.)” or Տչօ / tis “the one with (fem.)”.

Աչօ / wis + figure (in masc. form)
Աչօ ՔՁԵ / wis kʁaɖ “the third (masc.)”
Տչօ / tis + figure (in fem. form)
Տչօ ՔՁԵ+ / tis kʁaɖt “the third (fem.)”

## 4.6. Fractions

To the exception of օՃԽԼ / azgn “half”, there is no specific term for fractions. The numerals for double, triple, quadruple, etc. are expressed by resorting to periphrasis.

ᖃᖅ ᑕᑎᑦᐅ (l) ᐅᖅᖃᖅᖅᖅ / ᐅᖅᖅᖅ // xf snat (n) tikkal / twal	“twice”
ᖃᖅ ᑕᑕᑎᑦᐅᐅᐅ (l) ᐅᖅᖃᖅᖅᖅ / ᐅᖅᖅᖅ // xf mrawt (n) tikkal / twal	“ten times”

## 5. The noun phrase

The noun phrase may well be viewed as a syntactic structure which consists of a central nominal unit flanked or not by modifying or determining elements. It meets all the syntactic functions of a noun, and it can be substituted by a pronoun (free or bound).

The noun phrase can be:

- a noun (common, proper or kinship noun);
- a quality noun;
- an indefinite pronoun;
- an independent personal pronoun;
- a demonstrative pronoun;
- a numeral;
- a possessive pronoun.

All the elements set out above can surface separately or adjoined to other modifiers and determiners. Only noun phrases with a predicative function can surface as separate units.

Noun modifiers and determiners may be laid out as follows:

- pre-determiners: indefinite morphemes, cardinal numbers, presenters, predicators and quantifiers;
- post-determiners: possessive morphemes, determining complements (genitive), demonstrative deictics, quality nouns (adjectives), modifying participials and relative pronouns.

### 5.1. Noun phrases without determination

#### *a. Predicative use*

We talk of predicative use when the noun phrase is a predicate without any determiners or specifiers around. In this form, the noun phrase is used in truncated expressions, particularly as an answer to a question.

- Noun:

◦ΛΛξΘ / adlis	“book = It is the book.”
†ξΛξΛ◦ / tilila	“Tilila = It is Tilila.”
ξΘΘ◦ / ibba	“my father = It is my father.”

- Quality noun:

◦X◦†◦ / axatar      “the big = It is the big one.”

- An independent personal pronoun:

ΛΛξΛ / knniw      “you (plr.) = It is you.”

- A demonstrative pronoun:

Λ◦Λ / wad      “this one = It is this one.”

- Numeral (noun)

□◦Λ / mraw      “ten = It is ten.”

#### ***b. Use with the predicator Λ / d***

All nouns can be preceded by predicating Λ / d when they are used as nominal predicates (*cf. section 8.1.2*).

Λ ◦ΛΛξΘ. / d adlis.	“It is the book.”
Λ ◦X◦†◦. / d axatar.	“It is the big one.”
Λ ΛΛξΛ. / d knniw.	“It is you.”
Λ Λ◦Λ. / d wad.	“It is this one.”
Λ □◦Λ. / d mraw.	“It is ten.”

In negative structures, the noun phrase with predicating Λ / d is preceded by the negative particle ◦◦ / ur.

◦◦ Λ ◦ΛΛξΘ. / ur d adlis.	“It is not the / a book.”
◦◦ Λ ◦X◦†◦. / ur d axatar.	“It is not the big one.”
◦◦ Λ Λ◦Λ. / ur d wad.	“It is not this one.”

## 5.2. Noun phrases with determiners or specifiers

### a. Defined noun phrases

Counter to other languages that have distinct definite articles (Arabic: *al*, French: *le / la*, English: *the*, etc.), Amazigh lacks such morphemes. The definiteness of Amazigh NPs does not ensue from the function of the initial vowel of the noun, which is usually construed as a definite article. In fact, a vowel-initial noun may well be indefinite if it is preceded by the indefinite morpheme which has the same form of the numeral  $\text{ⵝⵓⵏ}$  / yan (also  $\text{ⵝⵓⵏ}$  / yun or  $\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$  / ijj) “one (masc.)” and its variant feminine form  $\text{ⵝⵓⵏ}$  / yat (also  $\text{ⵝⵓⵏ}$  / yut or  $\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$  / ict) “one (fem.)”

$\text{ⵓⵔⵓⵝⵏ}$ / abrid	“way, road”
$\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$ (l) $\text{ⵓⵔⵓⵝⵏ}$ / ijj (n) ubrid	“one way, one road”

The definiteness of NPs may also be expressed through other processes such as the semantism of nouns (proper nouns, place nouns, kinship nouns, etc.) and other noun extensions (possessive pronouns, noun complements, quality nouns, qualifying participles and relative clauses).

As for non-integrated words that are borrowed from Arabic (both classical and dialectal Arabic), they retain their definite article  $\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$  / l which is no longer interpreted as such. In fact, despite the presence of the article  $\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$  / l, the definiteness of these nouns is canceled by the introduction of the indefinite masculine and feminine singular numerals  $\text{ⵝⵓⵏ}$  / yan,  $\text{ⵝⵓⵏ}$  / yun and  $\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$  / ijj and  $\text{ⵝⵓⵏ}$  / yat,  $\text{ⵝⵓⵏ}$  / yut and  $\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$  / ict.

$\text{ⵝⵓⵏ}$ $\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$ / yan lqadi	“a judge”
$\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$ l $\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$ / ict n lmakina	“a machine”

### b. Indefinite NP

As mentioned before, the indefinite meaning of an NP is the result of determining the noun by an indefinite morpheme, i.e.  $\text{ⵝⵓⵏ}$  / yan,  $\text{ⵝⵓⵏ}$  / yun,  $\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$  / ijj and  $\text{ⵝⵓⵏ}$  / yat,  $\text{ⵝⵓⵏ}$  / yut,  $\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$  / ict, or by a number of other morphemes that express indefiniteness, partition, uncertainty, etc. ( $\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$  / kra,  $\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$  / ca):

$\text{ⵝⵓⵏ}$ $\text{ⵓⵔⵓⵝⵏ}$ / yan urba	“a boy”
$\text{ⵉⵢⵢ}$ l $\text{ⵓⵔⵓⵝⵏ}$ / ict n trbat	“a girl”



(ለ) ማላፍጋ ማ ፈርቶብ. / (d) amdyaz ay immutn.	“It is the poet that was dead.”
ዕ ለ ማፀፈለ ማ ማ(ለ) ! / ur d abrid ay a(d)!	“This is not the right road!”
ዕ ለ ማላፍጋ ማ ፈርቶብ. / ur d amdyaz ay immutn.	“It is not the poet that was dead.”

• **ነት ማ / nit ay**

ፀገር.ለ ነት ማ ተ ጸገር.  
aslmad nit ay t izran.  
“It is the teacher himself who saw him.”

• **ጸገር ማ / akk<sup>w</sup> ay**

ለጸገ ጸገር ማ ፈርቶብ. / adfl akk<sup>w</sup> ay idrn. “It is snow that fell.”

• **ጸገር ማ, ሃጸጸ ማ / Ka ay, yas ay**

ፈጸጸጸጸ ጸገር ማ ፈርቶብ. / ihllaln ka ay gis.	“He is always lying.”
ሃጸጸ ፈርቶብ ማ ጸገር. / yas imndi ay krzn.	“They have cultivated wheat only.”

• **ፀ ፈርቶብ ማ / ፀ ፈርቶብ ማ // s yixf nns ay / s uqrru nns ay**

ፀሃፀ ፀ ፈርቶብ ማ ለ ፈርቶብ.  
amyar s yixf nns ay d iddan.  
“The chief came in person.”

• **ሀጸጸጸጸ ማ / ሀጸጸጸጸ ማ // wahdut / uḥdu ay**

ፀሃፀ ሀጸጸጸጸ ማ ለ ፈርቶብ. /  
amnay uḥdut ay d yusin.  
“The knight came alone.”

• **ፀ ... ማ / am ... ay**

ፀ ሀፀ. ፀ ፀ ፈርቶብ. / am aeban a ur illi.	“You cannot find this sort of clothes anywhere.”
ፀ ተጸርቶ ሀጸ ማ ለ ሃጸጸጸጸ. / am tagmart ad ay d yurs.	“He has a mare like this one .”

• Other topicalizers: ማ / ag, ማ / ula, ማ / ስፒፒ, ማ / ስፒፒ, ማ / awd “even”, ማ /  
/ man, ማ / wan

ዕህላ ጴጤው ጸዕጤ / awd umas irah.	“Even his brother went.”
፫፯፻፬ ለ ሐዘንደር ደወ ዓደግ ጸጸዚ። / mqqar d aerrim ur yurs yiwd.	“Not even a single young man has paid him a visit.”

#### *e. Numeral determiners*

The numeral phrase falls under two categories: a noun phrase consisting of a cardinal number and a noun, and a noun phrase consisting of a noun and an ordinal number (*cf.* 3.4.5).

##### *• NP with a cardinal number*

Under this category, the noun is determined by a cardinal number with which it agrees in gender and number. In this context, the noun appears in the construct state.

፩ዚ (l) ዓዋሌ / ij (n) uyrda	“a mouse”
፪፭ተ ለዓሌፍተ / ict n tyrdyt	“a small mouse”
፬፻፲ (l) ጸላዊ።፭ / sin (n) iḥrmucn	“two boys”
፬፻ተ (l) ተላዊ።፭ / snat (n) ṭhrmucin	“two girls”

##### *• NP with an ordinal number*

Under this category, the NP is made up of a noun and an ordinal number. Ordinal numbers function as lexical determiners or modifiers of nouns to which they are attached, in the same fashion in which quality nouns (adjectives) modify nouns.

ዕ፫፻ ለጽጌዐ። / amnay amzwaru	“the first knight”
ተ፻ዐ፻ተ ለጽጌዐ።ተ / tafruxt tamzwarut	“the first girl”
፻፬፻ ጸጽጌዐ። / iysan imzwura	“the first horses”
ተ፻ዐ፻፲፻ ተጸጽጌዐ። / tiyallin timzwura	“the first mares”
፻፬፻ ጸጽጸ።ዐ። / ussan imggura	“the last days”
ተ፻ዐ፻፲፻ ተጸጽጸ።ዐ። / tifawin timggura	“the last light”

The NP consisting of a noun and an ordinal number may also take the shape of a noun modified or determined by a participial verb derived from the numerals ለጽጌዐ። / amzwaru and ለጽጸ።ዐ። / amggaru. Under this display, the verb agrees only in number with the noun it modifies.



᠎ᠠᠨᠠ ᠵᠢᠪᠠᠨ / ᠵᠢᠪᠠᠨᠠᠨ //	“the first knight”
ᠲᠠᠫᠢᠷᠠᠨ ᠵᠢᠪᠠᠨ / ᠵᠢᠪᠠᠨᠠᠨ //	“the first girl”
ᠶᠤᠰᠠᠨ ᠵᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ /	“the first horses”
ᠲᠢᠶᠠᠯᠠᠨ ᠵᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ /	“the first mares”
ᠠᠮᠬᠠᠳᠠᠷ ᠶᠡᠭᠡᠷᠠᠨ / ᠶᠡᠭᠡᠷᠠᠨᠠᠨ //	“the last student”
ᠲᠠᠮᠬᠠᠳᠠᠷᠲᠠᠷ ᠶᠡᠭᠡᠷᠠᠨ / ᠶᠡᠭᠡᠷᠠᠨᠠᠨ //	“the last student (fem.)”
ᠤᠰᠰᠠᠨ ᠶᠡᠭᠡᠷᠠᠨᠠᠨ / ᠶᠡᠭᠡᠷᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ //	“the last days”
ᠲᠢᠫᠠᠪᠠᠨ ᠶᠡᠭᠡᠷᠠᠨᠠᠨ / ᠶᠡᠭᠡᠷᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ //	“the last light”

The NPs with ordinal numbers, to the exception of ᠠᠮᠵᠠᠷᠠᠨ / amzwaru “first” and ᠠᠮᠭᠭᠠᠷᠠᠨ / amggaru “last”, are made up of cardinal numbers (*cf.* 3.4.5.b) preceded by the morphemes ᠠᠵᠢᠨ- / wis- or ᠲᠢᠰᠢ- / tis- (the morphemes may sometimes surface as ᠠᠵᠢᠰᠢᠨ- / wiss- or ᠲᠢᠰᠢᠰᠢ- / tiss-). In the forms laid out below, the ordinal numerals precede the nouns that they determine; when such display is observed, the nouns always hold in the plural form.

ᠠᠵᠢᠰᠢᠨ ᠷᠠᠳᠠᠨ (ᠤ) ᠶᠢᠮᠠᠨᠠᠨ /	“the third knight”
ᠲᠢᠰᠢᠰᠢ ᠷᠠᠳᠠᠨ (ᠤ) ᠲᠢᠮᠳᠠᠵᠠᠨᠠᠨ /	“the third poem”

The ordinal numerals may also follow the nouns they determine. When such a scenario holds, the nouns are singular and take the free state form.

ᠠᠮᠵᠠᠷᠠᠨ ᠠᠵᠢᠰᠢᠨ ᠷᠠᠳᠠᠨ /	“the third knight”
ᠲᠢᠮᠳᠠᠵᠠᠨᠠᠨ ᠲᠢᠰᠢᠰᠢ ᠷᠠᠳᠠᠨ /	“the third poems / poetess”

#### *f. NPs with quantifiers*

This category of NPs consists of a quantifier followed by a noun usually in the plural form; the two units are directly juxtaposed or linked by the preposition ᠤ / n or the predication morpheme ᠠᠨ / d.

- 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 (l) / mnnaw (n) “many”

𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹 (l) 𐎧𐎫𐎲𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎡 𐎶𐎵𐎲𐎶.  
mnaw (n) ifrxan ad yurs  
“He has many children.”

- **ЦІКР А** / mnck d “many, a lot of”

ÇİÇEK A. E. Q. S. E. I / mnck d iqařıdn “a lot of money”

• **ᲕᲗᲐ Ვ** / kda d, **ᲕᲗᲐᲕ** / aṭṭas n, **ᲕᲗᲐᲕ** / tugt n, **ᲕᲗᲐᲕ** / ᲕᲗᲐᲕ // kigan d / n, **ᲕᲗᲐᲕᲗ** / bzzaf n, **ᲕᲗᲐᲕᲗ** / aznnir n “many, a lot of”

ᲑᲟᲗ Რ ᲚᲙᲗᲗ / kada d middn	“many people”
ᲝᲞᲟᲛ Ი Ვ᲏ᲡᲢᲓᲛᲧᲐ / attaş n tmlalin	“many eggs”
ᲝᲞᲟᲛ Ი ᲭᲚᲗᲗᲑᲃᲃᲛ / attaş n imddukkal	“many friends”
ተጽተ Ი ᲛᲟᲛᲛᲛ / tugt n wawal	“too much talk”
ᲃᲭᲭᲟ Ი ᲭᲗᲛᲭᲟᲛ / kigan n idlšn	“a lot of books”
ፀፄፄፄፄ Ი ᲭᲗᲛᲛᲛᲛ / bzzaf n iħllaln	“a lot of lies”
Ჟፄፄፄፄ Ი ᲣᲟᲛᲚᲛ / aznnir n uyrum	“a lot of bread”

- $\text{olCt } \Lambda / \text{anct d, } \text{Yos} \Lambda \Lambda / \text{yayd d}$  “many”

᠋ᠣᠭᠲᠤ ᠠ ᠨᠴᠢᠨᠣᠮᠤᠷᠢ	/ anct d tmuryi	“many crickets”
ᠡᠭᠦᠳᠡ ᠠ ᠨᠵᠠᠭᠢᠷᠨ	/ yayd d izgarn	“big cattle”
᠋ᠣᠭᠲᠤ ᠰᠤ ᠤ ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠳᠢ	/ anct uya n udfl	“a lot of snow”

- 𐤆𐤌𐤕 / qaε, 𐤆𐤌𐤕 / qah “all”

ᄃᆫ ᄇᆯᆺᆸᆮᆪ / qae middn	“all the people”
ᄃᆫ ᄇᆯᆺᆻᆭᆪ / qaḥ irgazn	“all the men”
ᄃᆫ ᄇᆯᆺᆻᆮᆪ / qaḥ isiwann	“all the eagles”

- 𐤊𐤍 / ku, 𐤊𐤍𐤁 / kul, 𐤊𐤍𐤁𐤏 / kud “every”

ᲕᲗ ᲛᲚᲙᲠ / kul tagmart	“each mare”
ᲕᲗ ᲛᲚᲙᲠᲡ / ku tamɣart	“each woman”
ᲕᲕᲗ ᲛᲚᲙᲠᲡᲢᲣᲤᲥᲦᲧᲨᲩᲪᲫᲬᲭᲮᲯᲰᲱᲲᲳᲴᲵᲶᲷᲸᲹᲺ᲻᲼ᲽᲾᲿ / mkul asgg <sup>was</sup>	“each year”

***g. NPs with partitives***

- KO. l / kra n, Co. l / ca n “some”





- **Antecedent (object, complement) + relative pronoun + conjugated verb**

ሩዕዮ ተወሃርተ ለእኔ ዓ. ሄጃጃጃ  
 yufa talymt nni ya izzg.  
 “He found the she-camel to milk.”

ሄጃጃ ተጽጸርርኝ ለእኔ ዓ. ሀ ሄተተሁ ዓጽዔ.  
 isya tiggmi lli s ar ittwarga.  
 “He bought the house in which he has always dreamt.”

### 5.3. NP and coordination

An NP may consist of two nouns linked to each other by a coordinating morpheme. This sort of NPs meets all the functions of a noun.

The most commonly used morpheme of coordination in Amazigh is  $\wedge$  / d “and, with”:

ተጽዕኖ ለ ዓዋ / tagg <sup>w</sup> lla d uyu	“porridge and milk”
ጸገሮርጌ ለ ተዐፁተፂ / iḥrmucn d trbatin	“the boys and the girls”
ተርርጌርተ ለ ሁጸጸ / tamment d wudi	“honey and butter”
ነጸጸ ለ ሁርር / nkkn d wuma	“my brother and me”
ተተፂ ለ ዓፀርር ለ / nttni d uslmad	“they and the teacher”

Coordinators include also:

- Coordinators used to choose between two alternatives:  $\text{ነ}(\wedge)$  /  $\text{ny}(\text{d})$ ,  $\text{ነፂ}(\wedge)$  /  $\text{niy}(\text{d})$ ,  $\text{ር}(\wedge)$  /  $\text{ma}(\text{d})$  “or”:

ዓፀዓ. ነ ለ ዓፀጸ / assa ny d askka	“Today or tomorrow?”
ዓጸጸ. ነ ነፂ ለ ዓፀዓ. ነ / azgg <sup>w</sup> ay niy d awray	“The red or the yellow?”
ሁ ለ ሁ ለ ተ ለ / wad ma d tad	“This one or that one?”

- Coordinators with a cumulative value:  $\text{ዓ}(\wedge)$  / ula “and, too”

ጸጸዓ. ጸ. ዓ. ተጽጽጽ. ጸ. ጸ. / irgazn ula tieyyalin	“the men and the women, too”
ዓ. ጸ. ጸ. ዓ. ለ ጸ. ጸ. / anzar ula adfl	“rain and snow, too”



## CHAPTER 4

### The pronoun

The pronoun stands for any unit that can be substituted by a noun or a noun phrase. Its prime function is to avoid the repetition of a noun by acting as a replacement of this noun in a phrase.

Pronouns include:

- personal pronouns;
- possessive pronouns;
- demonstrative pronouns;
- interrogative pronouns;
- indefinite pronouns.

#### 1. Personal pronouns

A personal pronoun may take a variety of forms on the basis of the function it has in the phrase: subject pronoun (affix or independent), direct object, indirect object, object of a preposition or noun complement (ordinary or of kinship). Each set of pronouns has six person forms: three in singular and three in plural. Personal pronouns bifurcate into two categories: independent pronouns and affix pronouns or clitics.

##### 1.1. Independent or autonomous personal pronouns

Independent pronouns, dubbed also autonomous pronouns, behave as NPs and have all their functions. Independent pronouns may function as:

- a subject (topic indicator)

ΛΛΞΥ ΙΚΚΞ. / ddiy nkki.	“I, myself, went.”
ΙΚΚΞ ΛΛΞΥ. / nkki ddiy.	“I went.”

- a predicate of a non-verbal phrase

Λ 1+0+. / d nttat.	“It is her.”
°O Λ 1+0+. / ur d nttat.	“It is not her.”

Not unlike the NP, an independent pronoun may be emphasized and, thereby, moved to an initial position of a sentence as much as it can be left at the end. It can also be used to highlight a subject or object clitic pronoun.

1KKΞ1, O.ΛΥ. / nkkin, rahy.	“I, myself, went.”
O.ΛΥ, 1KKΞ1. / rahy, nkkin.	“I went.”
1+0+, °O1Υ 1+. / nttat, ssny tt.	“She, I know her.”
°O1Υ 1+, 1+0+. / ssny tt, nttat.	“I know her, (she).”

The independent pronoun is characterised by the diversity of its forms. It can take a simple form (1KK / nkk “me”, KC / km “you, fem.”) or a full form (1KKΞ1 / nkkin, KCCΞ1 / kmmin). At the phonetic level, the pronouns’ occlusive consonants may well take the form of fricatives, a case observed, for instance, in the first singular person pronoun (1KK / nkk → 1CC / ncc).

**Table 1: Independent personal pronouns**

	Masculine	Feminine
<b>Sing.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: 1KK / nkk «I, me» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: KYY / kyy «you» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: 1+0. / ntta «he»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: 1KK / nkk «I, me» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: KCC / kmm «you» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: 1+0+ / nttat «she»
<b>Plr.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: 1KK1Ξ / nkkni «we» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: K11Ξ / knni «you» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: 1+1Ξ, 1+11 // nttni, ntnin «they»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: 1KK1+Ξ, 1KK1Ξ1+ // nkknti, nkknint «we» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: K11Ξ1+, K11Ξ1+Ξ // knnint, knninti «you» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: 1+1+Ξ, 1+1Ξ1+ // nttniti, ntnint «they»

As regards the first and second person, a whole range of other forms are observed:

1<sup>st</sup> person:

*sing.*: 1C / nc, 1ΞC / nic

*masc. plr.*: 1C1Ξ / ncni, 1CCΞ1 / nccin, 1C1Ξ1 / ncnin

*fem. plr.*: 1CCΞ1+ / nccint, 1C1Ξ1+ / ncnint



*masc. sing.*: 𐌿𐌵𐌵𐌿 / kyvi, 𐌿𐌿𐌿 / ckk, 𐌿𐌶𐌶 / cgg  
*fem. sing.*: 𐌿𐌴 / cm, 𐌿𐌴𐌴𐌺 / kmmin, 𐌿𐌴𐌴𐌺𐌺 / kmmini  
*masc. plur.*: 𐌿𐌺𐌺𐌴 / knniw, 𐌿𐌺𐌺𐌺 / knnuni  
*fem. sing.*: 𐌿𐌺𐌺𐌴𐌹 / knnimt

*fem. plr.*:  $||\xi+\xi|+$  / *nnitnint*

Affixal personal pronouns stand for noun substitutes that are cliticised to verbs or affixed to nouns and prepositions. They stand out from independent pronouns by not having the same syntactic characteristics of the NPs they substitute. We can, therefore, say:

ᐱᐱᐱᐱ, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱ. / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱ	“Hemmou, I have seen him.”
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱ. / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱ.	“(He), I have seen him.”

\*t, ʔQɛɣ t. / \*t, zriy t.      “\*him, I have seen him.”

Under this category, subject affixal pronouns, dubbed also person markers, are affixed to the stem of the verb. To the exception of the participle, any verbal form, obligatorily, has a person marker which is linked to its stem.

Two sorts of personal pronouns are observed: the first can be used with all verbal moods except the imperative (*cf. Table 1, 5.1.2*), while the second is limited to the imperative mood only (*cf. Table 2, 5.1.2*).

***b. Affixal pronouns that refer to the object***

Amazigh recognises two sorts of object pronouns: direct object pronouns and indirect object pronouns. These pronouns may well precede or follow the verb depending on the presence or absence of certain morphemes, such as aspectual particles, negation and interrogation tools as well as subordinate conjunctions.

ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏⵏⵏ ⵏⵏⵏⵏ. / ad awn d awin aman. “They will bring you water.”	
ⵏⵏⵏⵏ ⵏ. / iswa t.	“He drank it.”
ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏⵏⵏ. / ur t iswi.	“He did not drink it.”
ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏⵏⵏ ? / is t iswa ?	“Did he drink it?”

ⵏⵏⵏⵏ ⵏⵏ ⵏ. / yuca as t. “He gave it to him.”	
ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏⵏⵏ. / ur as t yuci.	“He did not give it to him.”
ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏⵏⵏ ? / is as tyuca ?	“Did he give it to him ?”

***Table 2: Direct and indirect object pronouns***

Direct object pronouns		
	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / iyi	ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / iyi
	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: ⵏ / k	ⵏⵏ / km
	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: ⵏ / t	ⵏⵏ / tt
Plr.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / a(n)y	ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / a(n)y
	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: ⵏⵏⵏ / ⵏⵏ //	ⵏⵏⵏ / k <sup>w</sup> nt //
	k <sup>w</sup> n / wn	ⵏⵏⵏ / wnt
	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: ⵏⵏ / tn	ⵏⵏⵏ / tnt

Indirect object pronouns		
	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / iyi	ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / iyi
	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: ⵏⵏ / ak	ⵏⵏ / am
	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: ⵏⵏ / as	ⵏⵏ / as
Plr.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / a(n)y	ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / a(n)y
	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / ⵏⵏⵏ //	ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / ⵏⵏⵏⵏ //
	ak <sup>w</sup> n / awn	ak <sup>w</sup> nt / awnt
	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: ⵏⵏⵏ / asn	ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / asnt

Irrespective of the nature of the sentence (affirmative, negative, interrogative or exclamative), the indirect object pronoun always precedes the direct object pronoun.

*Affirmative sentence:*

verb + indir. obj. pron. + dir. obj. pron.

ᐃᓴᕐ ᐅᐅᐃ ᐅ. / nniy asn t. “I told it to them.”

*Negative sentence:*

neg. + indir. obj. pron. + dir. obj. pron. + verb

ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐃ ᐅ ᐃᓴᕐ. / ur asn t nniy. “I did not tell it to them.”

*Interrogative sentence:*

interro. + indir. obj. pron. + dir. obj. pron. + verb

ᓴᐅ ᐅᐅᐃ ᐅ ᐃᐃᐅ ? / “Did you tell it to them?”  
is asn t tnnam ?

The yes / no interrogative morpheme ᐅᐅ / ma “is / are / have etc. ....?”, a free variant of ᓴᐅ / is, does not engender the movement of object personal pronouns to a position before the verb.

ᐅᐅ ᐅᓴᐅᐃᐃ ᐅᐅᐃ ? / ma siwln asn ? “Did they talk to them ?”

**c. Pronouns acting as a noun complement**

The pronoun which behaves as a noun complement always follows the noun it specifies irrespective of the syntactic context in which the noun is used.

ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐃᐅᐅ / taddart nnk	“your (masc.) house”
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐃᐅᐅ / taddart nnm	“your (fem.) house”
ᐅᐅᓴᐅᐅᐅ ᐃᐅᐅ / argaz nns	“her husband”
ᐅᐅᐅᕐᐅᐅᐅ ᐃᐅᐅ / tamyart nns	“his wife”

The nouns ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / taddart (fem.), ᐅᐅᓴᐅᐅᐅ / argaz (masc.) and ᐅᐅᐅᕐᐅᐅᐅᐅ / tamyart (fem.) do not impose their gender markers on the pronoun.

The form of the pronoun varies depending on the nature of the noun it specifies, i.e. if it is a kinship or an ordinary noun. Interestingly, kinship nouns cannot exist without a pronominal complement.

**Table 3: Ordinary and kinship pronominal complements**

Ordinary possessive pronominal complements		
	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: $\xi\text{!}\text{!}$ / inu	$\xi\text{!}\text{!}$ / inu
	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\xi\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ //	$\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\xi\text{!}\text{!}$ //
	$\text{nnk}$ / ink	$\text{nnm}$ / inm
Plr.	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\xi\text{!}\text{!}$ //	$\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\xi\text{!}\text{!}$ //
	$\text{nns}$ / ins	$\text{nns}$ / ins
	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\text{nn}\text{!}$	$\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\text{nn}\text{!}$
Plr.	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ //	$\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ //
	$\text{nnun}$ / $\text{nnwm}$	$\text{nnunt}$ / $\text{nnwmt}$
	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\text{nnsn}$	$\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\text{nnsnt}$

Kinship possessive pronominal complements		
	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: - $\emptyset$	- $\emptyset$
	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: - $\text{!}\text{!}$ / -k	- $\text{!}\text{!}$ / -m
	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: - $\text{!}\text{!}$ / -s	- $\text{!}\text{!}$ / -s
Plr.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: - $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / -tny	- $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / tny
	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: - $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / -tun	- $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / -tunt
	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: - $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / -tsn	- $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / -tsnt

In the first person, the pronoun that follows the kinship noun is covert and, therefore, not realized.

$\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / baba	“my father, dad”
$\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / ultma	“my sister”

#### ***d. Affixal pronouns acting as objects of prepositions***

Not unlike verbs and nouns, prepositions may well have affixal pronominal objects. To the exception of the preposition  $\xi$  / i “to, for” whose pronominal complement takes the form of an indirect object, all the other prepositions have identical pronominal object forms.

*Table 4: affixal pronouns of prepositions*

	Masculine form	Feminine form
<b>Sing.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: <b>𐌺 / -i</b> 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: <b>𐌿 / -k</b> 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: <b>𐌾 / -s</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: <b>𐌺 / -i</b> 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: <b>𐌿 / -m</b> 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: <b>𐌾 / -s</b>
<b>Plr.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: <b>-𐌺𐌹 / nȳ</b> 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: <b>-𐌺𐌹𐌺 / 𐌹𐌺 //</b> <b>wm / un</b> 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: <b>𐌾𐌹 / sn</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: <b>-𐌺𐌹 / nȳ</b> 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: <b>-𐌺𐌹𐌺𐌹 / 𐌹𐌺𐌹 //</b> <b>wmt / unt</b> 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: <b>𐌾𐌹𐌺 / snt</b>

In writing, the preposition and its pronominal complement or object are united (Үрөөд / yurs, Үдөөд / dars “at his or her house / place”). It is also worthwhile to mention that most prepositions change their form when they are conjoined with a pronoun.

<p>ᲔᲡᲟ. Ე ᲔᲠᲞᲞᲟᲠ. / illa g imuzzar.  ᲔᲡᲟ. ᲔᲔᲠ / illa gis.</p>	<p>“He is in Imouzzar.”  “He is in it.”</p>
<p>ᲔᲡᲡᲣ ᲞᲔ ᲠᲟᲕ. / iffy zi mnud.  ᲔᲡᲡ“Ე ᲞᲔᲔᲠ. / iffy zigs.</p>	<p>“He left Mnoud.”  “He left it.”</p>

The preposition  $\xi$  / i stands as an exception, as formerly explained, because it can only be followed by an indirect object pronoun.

᠋᠋ᠰᠢᠯᠤ ᠰ ᠲᠴᠣ᠎ᠠ. / ssiwly i tmyart.	"I talked to the woman."
᠋᠋ᠰᠢᠯᠤ ᠰ᠋᠋. / ssiwly as.	"I talked to her."
᠋᠋ᠰᠢᠯᠤ ᠰ ᠰᠴᠡᠭᠦ᠋ᠨ. / ssiwly i imḥdarn.	"I talked to the students."
᠋᠋ᠰᠢᠯᠤ ᠰ᠋᠋᠋. / ssiwly asn.	"I talked to them."

## 2. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns consist of a composite of various diectics that express proximity (oΛ / ad – o / a – ɔ / u), remoteness (o|| / ann – ɣ|| / inn) or absence (||ɣɣ / lli – ||ɣ / nni – ||o / nna – Λo / da) along with a supporting element of determination (||- / w- (masc.) // ɬ- / t- (fem.)).

*Table 5: demonstrative pronouns*

	<i>MASCULINE FORM</i>	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Proximity</i>	ᐅᐅᐱ / ᐅᐅ // wad / wa	ᐅᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱ // wid / yina
<i>Remoteness</i>	ᐅᐅᐱᐱ / ᐅᐱᐱ // wann / win	ᐅᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // winn / yininn
<i>Absence</i>	ᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ // walli / wnni	ᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // willi / yinni
	ᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // wada / wnna	ᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // wida / winna

	<i>FEMININE FORM</i>	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Proximity</i>	ᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱ // tad / ta	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ // tid / tina
<i>Remoteness</i>	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ // tann / tinn	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // tinn / tininn
<i>Absence</i>	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // talli / tnni	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // tilli / tinni
	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // tada / tnna	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // tida / tinna

### 3. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed by conjoining supporting elements of determination (ᐅ / w- for the masculine form and ᐱ / t- for the feminine form) with the possessive pronominal complements of nouns (ᐱᐱᐱ / inu, ᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱ-*nnk* / ink, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ - *nns* / ins) (*cf.* 4.1.2.c). The different paradigms of possessive pronouns are set out in the following tables:

**Table 6: possessive pronouns with  $\text{U} / w$  (possessed masc. sing.)**

	Masculine form	Feminine form
<b>Sing.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{I}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winu}$ «mine» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winnk}$ «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winns}$ «his»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{I}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winu}$ «mine» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winnm}$ «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winns}$ «hers»
<b>Plr.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winny}$ «ours» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winnun}$ «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winnsn}$ «theirs»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winny}$ «ours» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winnunt}$ «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winnsnt}$ «theirs»

**Table 7: possessive pronouns with  $\text{U} / w$  (possessed masc. plr.)**

	Masculine form	Feminine form
<b>Sing.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{I}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winu}$ «mine» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winnk}$ «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winns}$ «his»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{I}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winu}$ «mine» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winnm}$ «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winns}$ «hers»
<b>Plr.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winny}$ «ours» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winnun}$ «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winnsn}$ «theirs»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winny}$ «ours» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winnunt}$ «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: $\text{U}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{winnsnt}$ «theirs»

**Table 8: possessive pronouns with  $\text{t} / t$  (possessed fem. sing.)**

	Masculine form	Feminine form
<b>Sing.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: $\text{t}\xi\text{I}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{tinu}$ «mine» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: $\text{t}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{tinnk}$ «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: $\text{t}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{tinns}$ «his»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: $\text{t}\xi\text{I}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{tinu}$ «mine» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: $\text{t}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{tinnm}$ «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: $\text{t}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{tins}$ «his»
<b>Plr.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: $\text{t}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{tinny}$ «ours» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: $\text{t}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{tinnun}$ «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: $\text{t}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{tinnsn}$ «theirs»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: $\text{t}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{tinny}$ «ours» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: $\text{t}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{tinnunt}$ «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: $\text{t}\xi\text{II}\text{!}\text{!} / \text{tinnsnt}$ «theirs»

**Table 9: possessive pronouns with † / t (possessed fem. plr.)**

	<b>Masculine form</b>	<b>Feminine form</b>
<b>Sing.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>†Ξ!% / tinu</b> «mine» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>†Ξ! % / tinnk</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>†Ξ! ⊙ / tinns</b> «his»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>†Ξ!% / tinu</b> «mine» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>†Ξ! C / tinnm</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>†Ξ! ⊙ / tinnsn</b> «his»
<b>Plr.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>†Ξ! Υ / tinny</b> «ours» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>†Ξ! %! / tinnun</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>†Ξ! ⊙  / tinnsn</b> «theirs»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>†Ξ! Υ / tinny</b> «ours» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>†Ξ! %!† / tinnunt</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>†Ξ! ⊙ † / tinnsnt</b> «theirs»

#### 4. Interrogative pronouns

An interrogative pronoun substitutes the NP on which the question is asked in a sentence. In general terms, an interrogative pronoun is built on the basis of the element  $\square_{\circ}$  / *ma* which might be followed with  $\circ\Lambda$  / *ad* or  $\circ\mathfrak{S}$  / *ay* “it is”. The form of interrogative pronouns varies on the basis of their syntactic function.

- 𐌚𐌛 / ma - 𐌚𐌛 / wi - 𐌚 / u “who”

When ʘ / ma, ʘʁ / wi or ʘ / u has a subjective function, the verb should surface in the participial form (*cf.* 5.1.2.c):

ᑕᓄ ᓄᐱ ᑭᐅᑭᓄᓄ ᓄᓄᓄ ? / ma ad iswan atay ?	“Who drank tea?”
ᑕᓄ ᓄᓄ ᑭᐅᓄᓄᓄ ᓄᐱᑭᐅ ? / ma ay isyan adlis ?	“Who bought the book?”
ᑭᑭ ᓄᐅ ᑭᓄᓄᓄ ᓄᑭᓄ ᓄᐱ ? / wi as innan awal ad ?	“Who told him these words?”
ᓄᓄᐅ ᑭᐅᓄᓄᓄ ᑭᐱᑭᐅᓄ ? / u as isyan idliss ?	“Who bought him the books?”

The form  $\text{C}_0 \circ \text{S} / \text{ma ay}$  is realized as  $[\text{C}_0 \text{X}] / [\text{mag}]$  when it is followed by the participial form  $\text{X} \dots \text{I} / \text{i} \dots \text{n}$ .

- [ɔ / ma - [ʒ] / min - ɔ / u “what”

When the interrogative pronouns  $\text{ᑭᑦ} / \text{ma}$ ,  $\text{ᑭᑭᑭ} / \text{min}$  and  $\text{ᑭᑦ} / \text{u}$  fill a direct object function, the verb does not take the participial form and is conjugated in one of the four basic themes (*cf.* 5.1.3):



ᑕᓄ ᓄᐱ ᐱᑕᑕᓄᑕ ? / ma ad tccam ?	“What did you eat?”
ᑕᑭᐱ ᐱᐱᑭᐱ ? / min tnnid ?	“What did you say?”
ᑕᓄ ᓄᑭ ᐱᑭᑭᑭᐱ ? / ma ay tʔrid ?	“What did you see?”

- ᑕᓄᐱᓄ / **manwa** // ᑕᓄᐱᐱ / **manwn** “which (masc.)” ᑕᓄᐱᓄ / **manta** // ᑕᓄᐱᐱ / **mantn** “which (fem.)”

Linked to the proximity deictic ᐱᓄ / wa or to the remoteness deictic ᐱᐱ / wn, the form ᑕᓄ / ma is realized as ᑕᓄᐱᓄ / manwa or ᑕᓄᐱᐱ / manwn. The latter two interrogative pronouns exhibit variation in number and gender as the examples below show.

ᑕᓄᐱᓄ / ᑕᓄᐱᐱ // manwa / manwn	“which one”
ᑕᓄᐱᑭ / ᑕᓄᐱᑭᐱ // manwi / manyn	“which ones”
ᑕᓄᐱᓄ / ᑕᓄᐱᐱ // manta / mantn	“which one (fem.)”
ᑕᓄᐱᑭ / ᑕᓄᐱᑭᐱ // manti / mantin	“which ones (fem. plr.)”
ᑕᓄᐱᑭ ᐱᐱᓄᐱᑭ ? / manwi ddanin ?	“which ones left?”
ᑕᓄᐱᓄ ᐱᑕᑕᑭᐱ ? / manta tsʔid ?	“which one (fem.) did you buy?”

- *Interrogative pronoun as object of a preposition*

Such an interrogative pronoun is used when the question targets the object of a preposition. The examples below exhibit the different forms in which interrogative pronouns appear when they target the object of a preposition:

ᑭᑕᑭ / ᑭᑕᑭᑭ // i mi / i umi	“to whom”
ᑕᑕᑭ / ᑕᑕᑭᑭᑭ // s mi / s minzi	“with what”
ᑭᑭᑭᑭ / xʔ mi	“on what”
ᑭᑕᑕᑭᑭ / yur mi	“at whose house”
ᓄᑭᐱᑭᑭ / agd mi	“with whom”
ᑭᑕᑭᑭ ᑭᑕᑕᑭᑭ ? / i mi isawl ?	“To whom did he speak?”
ᑭᑕᑭᑭ ᑭᑕᑕᑭᑭ ᐱᑕᑕᑭᑭᑭ ? / i umi iwca ttmnyat ?	“To whom did he give the money?”
ᑕᑕᑭᑭ ᑭᑕᑕᑭᑭ ᓄᑭᑭᑭᑭ ? / s mi ibbi aʔalim ?	“With what did he cut the onion?”
ᓄᑭᐱᑭᑭ ᑭᑕᑕᑭᑭᑭ ? / agd mi irah ?	“With whom did he go?”

## 5. Indefinite pronouns

Among the main indefinite pronouns, we may well mention:

**a. ƘƆ. / kra “something, someone”**

The indefinite pronoun ƘƆ. / kra is realized also as ƘƆ. / cra or Ƙ. / ca. The form ƘƆ. / kra, which refers to inanimate objects or things, surfaces unscathed regardless of gender and number variation.

✱ƘƘƣ ƘƆ. / zɾiɣ kra.	“I saw something.”
†lɪɛΛ Ƙ. / tnnid ca.	“You told something.”

The indefinite pronoun ƘƆ. / kra (and its variants) can be followed by the preposition l / n along with another indefinite pronoun like ɸdd “someone, noone” or yan / ijj “one” leading to the appearance of phrases like ƘƆ. l ɣ. l / kra n yan, Ƙ. l ɛII / ca n ijj, ƘƆ. l ɣɛll / cra n yiwn “someone”:

✱Ƙ ƘƆ. l ɣ. l ! / zɾ kra n yan !	“Try to find someone!”
Ɔ. llɰɰ ɛ Ƙ. l ɛII. / sawlɣ i ca nijj.	“I talked to someone.”
✱ƘƘƣ Ƙ. l ɛll. / zɾiɣ ca n ɸdd.	“I saw someone.”

**b. ll.ɛ / ll.ɣɛ / llɪɪɛ (l) - wayɗ / wiyyaɗ / wnnɗni (n) “other(s)”**

<i>Masc. Sing.</i>	ll.ɛ / ll.ɣɛ / llɪɪɛ(l) wayɗ / wayyaɗ / wnnɗni(n)
<i>Masc. Plr.</i>	ll.ɣɣ.ɛ / llɪɪɪɛl / ɣɪɪɪɛ wiyyaɗ / winnɗnin / yinnɗni
<i>Fem. Sing.</i>	†.ɛ / †.ɣɛ / †llɪɪɛ(l) tayɗ / tayyaɗ / tnnɗni(n)
<i>Fem. Plr.</i>	†ɣɣ.ɛ / †ɪɪɪɛ(l) tiyyaɗ / tinndni(n)

†ll.ɛ ll.ɰ llɪɪɛ ɛ ll.ɣɣ.ɛ. / tnnam awal lli i wiyyaɗ.	“You told that to others.”
†ll.ɛ ll. †.ɛ. / tdda d tayɗ.	“Another one (fem.) came.”
ɰɔɣɣ ɛ †llɪɪɛ. / ɣriɣ i tnnɗni.	“I called the other (fem.).”

**c. ll.ɣ. / amata “the majority”**

ll.ɣ. ɛll.ɛ ll. / amata idda d.	“The majority of them came.”
ll.ɣ. llɔl ɛllɛɛɛ. / amata nnsn iqqim.	“The majority of them did not come.”

The indefinite form ll.ɣ. / amata is also used in the expression ll.ɣ. / s umata “the majority”.

ll.ɛ ll. ll.ɣ. / dda d s umata. “The majority of them came.”

## CHAPTER 5

### Verbs and verb phrases

Verbs may well appear in a simple form (◦XĈ / agm “to draw water”, ◦XŲ / agl “to hang”, ◯◦LŲ / sawl “to talk”) or in a derived form (††L◦XĈ / ttwagm, ††L◦XŲ / ††Ŷ◦XŲ // ttwagl / ttyagl, Ĉ◯◦L◦Ų / msawal). In both cases, verbs are conjugated in one of the following four themes: the aorist, the perfective, the perfective negative or the imperfective. Simple or derived, verbs receive the same verbal markers. Depending on the theme, verbs are preceded by one of the following aspectual particles: ◦Λ / ad, ◯◦Λ (◯◦Λ, X◦Λ) / rad (sad, xad), Λ◦ / da, Ų◦ / la, ◦◯ / ar and ◦ZZ◦ (Z◦) / aqqa (qa).

#### 1. Simple verbs

##### 1.1. The root and the stem

A simple verb is made up of a root and a stem. The root consists of a consonant or a sequence of consonants that express the lexical and semantic meaning of the verb. The verbs ◦Ĥ / af “to find” and ◦XŲ / agl “to hang”, for instance, are made up of the roots Ĥ / f and XŲ / gl. The root does not belong to any grammatical category; it is neither a verb nor a noun.

To be realized, a root must be put in the mould of a stem, a sort of frame which usually includes vowels, making it possible for the sequence of vowels and consonants to have a grammatical category. The roots Ĥ / f and XŲ / gl are mapped onto the following stem patterns: vc<sup>9</sup> and vcc, hence the forms ◦Ĥ / af and ◦XŲ / agl.

The combination of a root and a stem makes up the verb radical. The conjugated form of the verb obtains by adding verbal markers (gender and person, for instance) to the radical (cf. 4.1.2 a and 5.1.2).

In general terms, verbs are classified on the basis of the number of consonants they have. There are monoliteral (consisting of one consonant),

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<sup>9</sup> c stands for a consonant and v for a vowel.

biliteral (2 consonants), trilateral (3 consonants), quadrilateral (4 consonants) and quinquiliteral (5 consonants) verbs.

**a. Monoliteral**

ⵍ / g	“to be, to do”
ⵔ / ru	“to weep, to cry”
ⵎⵏ / af // af / if	“to find”
ⵉⵏⵉ / ini	“to say”
ⵉⵔⵉ / iri	“to like, to love”

**b. Biliteral**

ⵏⵓ / ns	“to spend the night”
ⵍⵏ / gn	“to sleep”
ⵏⵏⵣ / ddz	“to grind”
ⵍⵏⵓ / gnu	“to sew”
ⵎⵔⵎ / agm	“to draw water”
ⵓⵔⵉ / suḏ	“to blow”
ⵓⵔⵓ / ugur	“to walk”

**c. Trilateral**

ⵍⵎⵔ / lmd	“to learn”
ⵍⵏⵔ / zdy	“to live, to dwell”
ⵓⵔⵓ / sqsa	“to ask”
ⵓⵔⵓⵍⵓ / ⵓⵔⵓⵍⵓ // ssiwl / sawl	“to speak”

**d. Quadrilateral**

ⵏⵔⵓ / dryl	“to be blind”
ⵔⵎⵍⵎ / gmgm	“to stammer”
ⵏⵔⵎ / drdm	“to stumble”
ⵓⵔⵓⵍⵓ / bbrkn	“to be black”

**1.2. Verbal inflections**

Three types of verbal inflection markers are observed in Amazigh: the non-imperative form (*cf.* 4.1.2 a), the imperative form and the participial form markers.

### a. Inflectional markers of the non-imperative form

These inflectional markers are affixed to the verb irrespective of the theme in which it is conjugated (aorist, perfective, negative perfective or imperfective). The inflectional markers can be prefixed and / or suffixed as laid out in the table below:

	Masculine form	Feminine form
<b>Sing.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers. ---- ʁ / ---- ɣ 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. † ---- ʌ / t ---- d 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. ʒ ---- / i ----	1 <sup>st</sup> pers. ---- ʁ / ---- ɣ 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. † ---- ʌ / t ---- d 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. † ---- / t ----
<b>Plr.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.   ---- / n ---- 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. † ---- ʈ / t ---- m 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. ----   / ---- n	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.   ---- / n ---- 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. † ---- ʈ† / t ---- mt 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. ----  † / ---- nt

- Some of the markers set out above have variants. The first singular person ʁ / ɣ is also realised as ʁ / x or ʁ / h.
- The discontinuous inflectional morpheme † ... ʌ / t ... d of the second singular person can also appears as † ... † / t ... t (†ʁʁʁʁʁʁ / tffɣd or †ʁʁʁʁʁ† / tffɣt “you got out”).

The inflectional marker ʒ / i of the third masculine singular person is pronounced ʒ / y when the verb has a vocalic initial.

ʒ + ʁʁʁʁʁʁ → ʒʁʁʁʁʁʁ / yumz “He grasped, he held”

ʒ + ʁʁʁʁʁ → ʒʁʁʁʁʁ / yiwi “He took”

The inflectional marker † ... ʈ† / t ... mt of the second feminine plural person may be realized as † ... |† / t ... nt by assimilation of ʈ / m to † / t.

### b. The imperative mood inflectional markers

The inflectional markers of the imperative form are always suffixed to the verbal stem:

Table 2: inflectional markers of the imperative form

	Masculine form	Feminine form
<b>Sing.</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. ---- Ø	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. ---- Ø
<b>Plr.</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. ---- ʁ† / † // ---- at / t 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. ---- ʈ / ---- m	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. ---- ʁʈ† / ʈ† // ---- amt / mt

As the table shows, no inflectional marker specifies the second singular person, as is apparent in  $\text{ḤḤḤ} / \text{ffḡ} !$  “Get out!”,  $\text{ḡḤ} / \text{adf} !$  “Get in!”.

When the speaker is involved in the action that the interlocutor is ordered to perform, the pronoun  $\text{ay}$  (any) is added to the imperative verb.

$\text{ḤḤḤ ḡ} ! / \text{ffḡ ay} !$	“Let us go out (you and me)!”
$\text{ḤḤḤḡ} ḡ ! / \text{ffḡat ay} !$	“Let us go out (you (masc.) and me)!”
$\text{ḤḤḤḤḤ} ḡ ! / \text{ffḡmt any} !$	“Let us go out (you (fem.) and me)!”

### *c. Inflectional markers of the participial form*

A third form of inflectional markers is used with the participial form. This form is observed in specific contexts, such as the relative clause, the topicalized clause and the interrogative sentence provided that the subject is the antecedent of the relative pronoun or the object of a topicalization or a question.

$\text{ḡḤḤḤ ḤḤḤ ḤḤḤḤ ḡḤ Ḥ ḤḤḤḤ}.$ argaz lli iffḡn ur d ntta “The man who went out is not him.”
$\text{ḤḤḤḤḤḤ ḤḤḤ ḡḤ Ḥ ḤḤḤḤḤḤ}.$ amqgran nnsn ay d isawln “It is their chief who spoke.”
$\text{ḤḤ ḤḤḤḤ} ?$ wi irahn ? “Who went?”

The participial form has an inflectional marker that is specific to it; it is different from the markers of the neutral and imperative forms. The inflectional marker takes the following shape  $\text{Ḥ...Ḥ} / \text{i...n}$  ( $\text{ḤḤḤḤḤ} / \text{iffḡn}$ ,  $\text{ḤḤḤḤ} / \text{idan}$  and  $\text{ḤḤḤḤ} / \text{irahn}$ ). This marker is used with all verbal themes to the exception of the aorist which is preceded by  $\text{ḤḤ} / \text{ra}$ . The marker is also realised as  $\text{Ḥ...Ḥ} / \text{y...n}$  if the verb starts with a vowel ( $\text{ḤḤḤḤḤ} / \text{yudfn}$  “entering”). In the plural form, the marker surfaces as  $\text{ḤḤḤ} / \text{...nin}$ , as displayed in the examples below:

- Masc. / fem. sing.  $\text{Ḥ...Ḥ} / \text{i...n}$
- Masc. / fem. plr.  $\text{ḤḤḤ} / \text{...nin}$

$\text{ḡḤḤḤ (ḤḤḤ) ḤḤḤḤḤ} / \text{argaz (lli) iffḡn}$	“the man who went out”
$\text{ḤḤḤḤḤ (ḤḤḤ) ḤḤḤḤḤ} / \text{irgazn (lli) ffḡnin}$	“the men who went out”

ተ.ርዕ.ዐተ ጸዘዝዋ / tamyart iffyn	“the woman who went out”
ተጸርዕ.ዐጸገ ዘዘዋጸገ / timyarin ffynin	“the women who went out”
ዐ.ዐ.ፀ. ጸተዘዝዋ / arba itffyn	“the boy who always goes out”
ዐ.ዐ.ፀ. ዓ. ጸዘዝዋ / arba ya iffyn	“the boy who will go out”
ዐ.ዐ.ፀ. ዘዘጸ ዐ. ጸዘዝዋ / arba lli ra iffyn	“the boy who will go out”

The participial form of the aorist may well be used with ዓ. / ya and ዐ. ዓ. / a ya which are contextual variants of ዐ. / ad.

ለርር፡ ጸ ዓ. ጸለለ፡. / ስmmu i ya iddun. “It is Hemmou who will go.”

### 1.3. Verbal themes

#### a. The aorist

The aorist surfaces in the same form of the stem of the second singular person of the imperative mood (*cf.* 5.1.4). However, the usual verbal markers are cliticised to the verb when it is conjugated.

ዐ.ጸ / awi “take+aorist”	ዐ.ጸ ! / awi! “take ! (imperative)”
ጸርር / kcm “enter+aorist”	ጸርር ! / kcm! “enter ! (imperative)”
ጸዐጸ / zri “cross+aorist”	ጸዐጸ ! / zri! “cross ! (imperative)”

The aorist may well be construed as the basic form from which all the other verbal themes are derived. More often than not, it is preceded by the particle ዐ. / ad which expresses different semantic values, the future included, or by ዐ. / rad which expresses the future value only.

ዐ. ጸዐጸ. / ad irwl.	“He will run away.”
ጸጸ ዐ. ጸ ጸለለ፡. / ini as ad iddu.	“Tell him to leave.”
ዐ. ጸዘዝዋ. / rad iffyn.	“He will go out.”
ዐ. ጸ ሂጸርገ ጸ ተጸርርጸ. / rad qqimn g tgmml.	“They will stay at home.”

If the verb is used in listing a number of actions or in narration contexts, the aorist is not preceded by the particle ዐ. / ad and may express semantic values other than the future.

- ዐ. ጸዐ. ጸ ጸ. ፀ. ፀ. ጸጸ፡. ጸጸ፡. ጸጸ፡. ጸጸ፡. ጸጸ፡. ጸጸ፡. ጸጸ፡.

ad irah d babas, izr umas, issiwl as xf tmyra.

He will go with his father, see his brother and talk to him about the marriage ceremony.

- ၵၵၵ ၵ ၵၵၵၵၵၵ, ၵၵၵ ၵၵၵၵ ၵ ၵၵၵၵၵ, ၵၵ ၵၵ ၵၵၵၵၵ.

idda s tmazirt, yawy idlisen i inlmadn, isy asn imassn.

He went to his hometown, took books to the pupils and bought school supplies for them.

- ၵ ၵၵၵ ၵၵၵၵ, ၵၵၵ ၵၵၵၵ, ၵၵၵၵ ၵၵၵၵ, ၵၵၵၵ ၵၵၵၵၵၵ.

ad iwwt unzār, ilin waman, tugut tuga, jjawnn izgarn.

The rain will fall, there will be water, grass will be abundant and cows will eat their fill.

**Table 3: conjugation of the verb ၵၵ / ini in the aorist form (with ၵၵ / ad)**

	Masculine form	Feminine form
<b>Sing.</b>	<p>ၵ ၵၵၵ / ad iniy «I will say»</p> <p>ၵ ၵၵၵၵ / ad tinid «you will say «</p> <p>ၵ ၵၵၵ / ad yini «he will say «</p>	<p>ၵ ၵၵၵ / ad iniy «I will say»</p> <p>ၵ ၵၵၵၵ / ad tinid «you will say «</p> <p>ၵ ၵၵၵ / ad tini «she will say «</p>
<b>Plr.</b>	<p>ၵ ၵၵၵ / ad nini «we will say «</p> <p>ၵ ၵၵၵၵ / ad tinim «you will say»</p> <p>ၵ ၵၵၵ / ad inin «they will say «</p>	<p>ၵ ၵၵၵ / ad nini «we will say «</p> <p>ၵ ၵၵၵၵ / ad tinimt «you will say»</p> <p>ၵ ၵၵၵၵ / ad inint «they will say «</p>

ၵၵ / ad and ၵၵၵ / rad are pronounced as ၵ / a and ၵၵၵ / ra (reduced forms) respectively before a verb that starts with a consonantal marker. This marker may either be ၵ / t (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. or plr. person) or ၵ / n (1<sup>st</sup> plr. person).

ၵ ၵၵၵၵၵၵ ad tawid	“you will take”	→	[ၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵ] [attawid]
ၵ ၵၵၵၵၵၵ ad nffၵ	“we will get out”	→	[ၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵ] [annffၵ]
ၵၵၵ ၵၵၵၵ rad tnst	“you will spend the night”	→	[ၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵ] [rattnst]
ၵၵၵ ၵၵၵၵ rad nns	“we will spend the night”	→	[ၵၵၵၵၵၵၵၵ] [ranns]



### ***b. Positive perfective***

The positive perfective theme (which goes also under the name of the positive preterite) shows that the action of the verb is finished. To be conjugated, perfective verbs get the same verbal markers (person markers) as the ones seen before (*cf. 5.1.2. table n°1*).

For a number of verbs, the perfective and aorist themes are identical. When such identity holds, the verbs are considered to be regular.

<b>Aorist</b>		<b>Perfective</b>	
ⲟⲕ ⲭⲓⲟⲓ ad imun	“he will accompany”	ⲭⲓⲟⲓ imun	“he accompanied”
ⲟⲕ ⲭⲏⲕⲏⲩ ad iffɣ	“he will go out”	ⲭⲏⲕⲏⲩ iffɣ	“he went out”
ⲟⲕ ⲭⲙⲕⲏⲩ ad izdɣ	“he will live”	ⲭⲙⲕⲏⲩ izdɣ	“he lived”

For other verbs, the perfective theme is different from the aorist theme. These verbs are irregular.

<b>Aorist</b>		<b>Perfective</b>	
ⲟⲕ ⲭⲏⲭⲓ ad ilin	“they will be”	ⲙⲙⲟⲓ llan	“they were”
ⲟⲕ ⲭⲓⲭⲏⲩ ad iniɣ	“I will say”	ⲓⲭⲏⲩ nniɣ	“I said”
ⲟⲕ ⲟⲕⲏⲩ ad afɣ	“I will find”	ⲟⲕⲭⲏⲩ ufiɣ	“I found”
ⲟⲕ ⲭⲟⲭⲓ ad irin	“they will need”	ⲟⲟⲓ ran	“they need(ed)”

The perfective form of this class of verbs is different from the aorist form by a vocalic alternation sometimes concomitant with consonantal gemination.

More often than not, it is vocalic alternation that is observed and not consonantal gemination. In fact, the vowel of the stem is subject to change and alternates with another vowel that may obtain at the initial, middle or final position. The different alternations observed are laid out as follows:

- օ- / a- > օ- / u- alternation at the initial position

Aorist		Perfective	
օՆ օՇճԿԿ ad amzy	“I will hold”	օՇճԿԿ umzy	“I held”
օՆ օՃԽԿ ad agly	“I will hang”	օՃԽԿ ugly	“I hung”
օՆ օՃՃԽԿ ad azzly	“I will run”	օՃՃԽԿ uzzly	“I ran”

It should also be noted that verbs with an initial vowel օ- / a- followed by a semi-consonant Ա / w exhibit a different vocalic alternation. The alternation of the initial vowel of such verbs obtains in the following pattern: օ- / a- > ի- / i-:

Aorist		Perfective	
օՆ օԱՇԿ ad awiy	“I will take”	իԱՇԿ iwiy	“I took”
օՆ օԱԽԿ ad awly	“I will marry”	իԱԽԿ iwly	“I got married”
օՆ օԱԵԿ ad awdy	“I will arrive”	իԱԵԿ iwdy	“I arrived”

- օ- / a- > օ- / u- alternation at the medial position

Aorist		Perfective	
օՆ ՃՃ.ՊՊԿ ad ggally	“I will swear”	ՃՃ.ՊՊԿ ggully	“I swore”
օՆ ՇՇ.ՕԿ ad ccary	“I will fill”	ՇՇ.ՕԿ ccury	“I filled”
օՆ ՆՊ.Պ ad ilal	“he will be born”	ՆՊ.Պ ilul	“he was born”

- Zero alternation and final vowel insertion

This class of verbs, when conjugated in the perfective form, is characterized by the appearance of a vowel at the ultimate position, a vowel absent in the aorist form.

Aorist		Perfective	
օՆ ՃԿ / ad gy	“I will be”	ՃԿԿ / giy	“I am / was”
օՆ ՆԻՃ / ad inz	“It will be sold”	ՆԻՃ. / inza	“It is / was sold”
օՆ ՆՃՁ / ad izr	“he will see”	ՆՃՁ. / izra	“he saw”

In the first and second singular persons, the perfective theme of a number of verbs is marked by the appearance of a final vowel  $\xi$ - / i-; in other persons, the same vowel is rendered as  $\circ$ - / a-, as set out in the conjugation of the verb  $\odot\psi$  / sy “to buy” below:

*Table 4: Conjugation of the verb  $\odot\psi$  / sy “to buy”*

	Masculine form	Feminine form
<b>Sing.</b>	$\odot\psi\xi\psi$ / syiy «I bought» $\dagger\odot\psi\xi\Lambda$ / tsyid «you bought» $\xi\odot\psi\circ$ / isya «he bought»	$\odot\psi\xi\psi$ / syiy «I bought» $\dagger\odot\psi\xi\Lambda$ / tsyid «you bought» $\dagger\odot\psi\circ$ / tsya «she bought»
<b>Plr.</b>	$\text{I}\odot\psi\circ$ / nsya «we bought» $\dagger\odot\psi\circ\Gamma$ / tsyam «you bought» $\odot\psi\circ\text{I}$ / syan «they bought»	$\text{I}\odot\psi\circ$ / nsya «we bought» $\dagger\odot\psi\circ\Gamma\dagger$ / tsyamt «you bought» $\odot\psi\circ\text{I}\dagger$ / syant «they bought»

Final alternation is not observed only in verbs with the pattern zero alternation and final vowel insertion; it is also observed in verbs with double alternations (initial and final) as in  $\xi\text{O}\xi$  / iri “to want”,  $\xi\text{I}\xi$  / ini “to say” and  $\xi\text{I}\xi$  / ili “to be, to exist”:

$\text{O}\xi\psi$ / riγ	“I need”	$\text{I}\xi\psi$ / nniγ	“I told”
$\dagger\text{O}\xi\Lambda$ / trid	“you need”	$\dagger\text{I}\xi\Lambda$ / tnnid	“you told”
$\xi\text{O}\circ$ / ira	“He needs”	$\xi\text{I}\circ$ / inna	“He told”
$\text{O}\circ\text{I}$ / ran	“They need”	$\text{I}\circ\text{I}$ / nnan	“They told”

- Verbs with double vocalic alternations (initial and final)

$\circ\Lambda\circ\text{II}\psi$ / ad ajjγ	“I will let”	$\circ\text{II}\xi\psi$ / ujjiγ	“I let”
$\circ\Lambda\circ\text{III}$ / ad ajjn	“they will let”	$\circ\text{II}\circ\text{I}$ / ujjan	“they let”
$\circ\Lambda\circ\text{H}\psi$ / ad afγ	“I will find”	$\circ\text{H}\xi\psi$ / ufiγ	“I found”
$\circ\Lambda\circ\text{HI}$ / ad afn	“They will find”	$\circ\text{H}\circ\text{I}$ / ufan	“they found”

- Vocalic alternation (vowel > zero vowel (in initial position)) along with consonantal gemination and final  $\xi$  / i -  $\circ$  / a alternation

ႱႱ / ini “to tell” →	ႱႱႱ / nniy	“I told”
	ႱႱႱႱ / tnnid	“you told”
	ႱႱႱႱ / inna	“he told”
	ႱႱႱႱ / nnan	“they told”

ႱႱႱ / ili “to be” →	ႱႱႱႱ / lliy	“I am”
	ႱႱႱႱႱ / tllid	“you are”
	ႱႱႱႱႱ / illa	“he is”
	ႱႱႱႱႱ / llan	“they are”

### c. Negative perfective

The negative perfective theme (which goes also by the name of negative preterite) is a variant of the positive perfective theme. It is used when the verb is preceded by the morpheme of negation ႱႱ / ur (*cf.* 8.2.1). The main feature that specifies this theme is the appearance of vowel Ⴑ / i before the final consonant of the verb stem if such consonant exists.

Perfective		Negative Perfective	
ႱႱႱႱ / umzy	“I held”	ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱႱ / ur umizy	“I did not hold”
ႱႱႱႱ / krzy	“I ploughed”	ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱႱ / ur krizy	“I did not plough”
ႱႱႱႱ / inna	“he said”	ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱ / ur inni	“he did not say”
ႱႱႱႱ / ran	“they want”	ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱ / ur rin	“they do not want”

Some verbs do not exhibit any alteration in their negative form; put in another way, their positive and negative forms are identical.

Perfective		Negative Perfective	
ႱႱႱႱ / muny	“I accompanied”	ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱ / ur muny	“I did not accompany”
ႱႱႱႱႱ / nurar	“We danced.”	ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱႱ / ur nurar	“We did not dance.”
ႱႱႱႱႱ / azumn	“They fasted.”	ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱႱ / ur azumn	“They did not fast.”

†‡‡‡† / tmmut	“She died.”	‡‡‡ †‡‡‡† / ur tmmut	“She did not die.”
‡‡‡‡‡‡ / imllul	“It is white.”	‡‡‡ ‡‡‡‡‡‡ / ur imllul	“It is not white.”

#### *d. The imperfective*

The imperfective theme expresses action progressiveness; it usually meets habitual, intensive or iterative ends. The repetition of the action may hold in the past, present or future. To the exception of some Amazigh varieties, the imperfective theme of a verb is preceded by one or another of the following aspectual particles ‡‡ / ar, ‡‡ / da, ‡‡ / la, ‡‡‡‡ / aqqa or ‡‡ / ad // ‡‡‡‡ / rad (and their variants) when the action takes place in the future (*cf.* 5.3).

The imperfective theme is derived from the aorist by applying one or more of the following morphological alterations: †† / tt- prefixation, gemination of a root consonant and the insertion of a vowel.

- †† / tt- prefixation: one of the most prominent markers of the imperfective theme:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
‡‡‡ / azu	“to skin”	††‡‡‡ / ttazu
‡‡‡ / ini	“to say”	††‡‡‡ / ttini
‡‡‡ / ddu	“to go”	††‡‡‡ / ttddu
‡‡‡ / awi	“to take”	††‡‡‡ / ttawi
‡‡‡ / usu	“to cough”	††‡‡‡ / ttusu
††‡ / ttu	“to forget”	††‡††‡ / ttettu
‡‡‡ / mun	“to be united”	††‡‡‡ / ttmun
‡‡‡‡ / imim	“to be sweet”	††‡‡‡‡ / ttimim

- Gemination of one of the root consonants: a simple consonant in the aorist form becomes tense in the imperfective form. Gemination is generally observed in the medial consonant of trilateral verbs as well as in the first or second consonant of bilateral verbs:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
‡‡‡ / lmd	“to learn”	‡‡‡‡ / lmmmd
‡‡‡ / rzm	“to open”	‡‡‡‡‡ / rzzzm

ርጸዐ / mgr	“to reap”	ርጸጸዐ / mggr
ጸለሂ / zdy	“to live”	ጸለለሂ / zddy
ባደጠ / rdl	“to lend, borrow”	ባደደጠ / rttl
ዐጠጠ / rwl	“to flee”	ዐጸጸጠ / rgg <sup>w</sup> l
ዐፀፀ / rbu	“to put on the back”	ዐፀፀፀ / rbbu
ሰሃ / ny	“to kill”	ሰፂፂ / ሰፂፂ። // nqq / nqqa
ጸጠ / kl	“to spend the day”	ጸጠጠ / ጸጠጠ። // kll / klla
ጸባ / zr	“to see”	ጸባባ። / zrra

The verbal root consonants ሀ / ሐ, ሠ / ሡ and ሃ / ሣ undergo phonetic changes when they are geminated. ሀ / ሐ shifts to ሂሂ / ሐፐ, ሠ / ሡ becomes ጸጸ / gg and ሃ / ሣ surfaces as ፂፂ / qq.

- Vowel insertion:

ፀ።ጠጠ / ፀፂጠጠ / sawl / siwl	“to speak”	ፀፀ።ጠ።ጠ። / ssawal
ፀጸዐ / skr	“to do”	ፀጸ።ዐ / skar
ፀፀፂጠጠ / ssfld	“to listen”	ፀፀፂፂፂጠ። / ssflid
ፀፀሃጠ / ssyd	“to listen”	ፀፀሃ።ጠ / ssyad

- The gemination of a verbal root consonant along with the alternation: zero vowel > vowel:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ሠጸ / nz	“to be sold”	ሠጸጸ። / nzza
ጸፀ / ks	“to graze”	ጸፀፀ። / kssa
ጸጠ / gn	“to sleep”	ጸጸ።ጠ / ggan
ሃጸ / yz	“to dig”	ፂፂ።ጸ / qqaz
ጸፂ / zd	“to grind”	ጸጸ።ፂ / zzad
ፀሃ / sy	“to buy”	ፀፀ።ሃ / ssay

As is clear in the aforementioned examples, gemination may affect the first (ፀፀ።ሃ / ssay) or second (ሠጸጸ። / nzza, ጸፀፀ። / kssa) consonant of a verb root.

- Vocalic alternation along with ሐፐ-(ፐ) / ሐፐ-(ፐ) prefixation. The vocalic alternation may well hold inside or at the end of the verb.

- Inside the verbal stem:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
lᵊ / ns	“to spend the night”	ttlᵊᵊ (lᵊᵊᵊ) // ttnus (nssa)
lᵊ / nz	“to be sold”	ttlᵊᵊ (lᵊᵊᵊ) // ttnuz (nzza)
ᵊᵊᵊ / azzl	“to run”	ttᵊᵊᵊ (ttᵊᵊᵊ) / ttazzal (ttazzla)
ᵊᵊᵊ / kcm	“to enter”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttkcam
ᵊᵊᵊ / krz	“to dig”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttkraz
ᵊᵊᵊ / drdr	“to sprinkle”	ttᵊᵊᵊᵊᵊ (ttᵊᵊᵊᵊᵊ) // ttddir (ttddar)
ᵊᵊᵊ / brkn	“to be black”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttbrkin

- At the end of the verb: a final vowel, absent in the aorist form, is added in the imperfective form:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ᵊᵊ / af	“to find”	ttᵊᵊ / ttafa
ᵊᵊ / rᵊ	“to break”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttrᵊᵊ
ᵊᵊ / mud	“to braid”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttamuda
ᵊᵊᵊ / azzl	“to run”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttazzla
ᵊᵊᵊ / ggall	“to swear”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttgalla
ᵊᵊᵊ / sll	“to listen”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttslla
ᵊᵊᵊ / zzall	“to pray”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttzalla
ᵊᵊᵊ / qqim	“to sit”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttyima

The imperfective form of a whole range of verbs is concomitant with the degemination of one of the consonants of the verb root. This is what is observed in verbs like, ᵊᵊᵊ / qqim “to sit”, ᵊᵊᵊ / zzall “to pray” and ᵊᵊᵊ / ggall “to swear”.

Some verbs may have two imperfective forms: one with the gemination of a root consonant, the other with tt- prefixation along with a vocalic alternation (ᵊᵊᵊ / kcm “to get in” > ᵊᵊᵊᵊ / kccm or ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttkcam).

### Special imperfective forms

Some verbs exhibit special forms when they are conjugated in the imperfective theme. These forms are at odds with the forms provided before.

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ዓተ / ሀሀተ // ut / wwt	“to beat”	ጸጸዓተ / kkat
ፍፍ / cc	“to eat”	ፍተዓ / ተፍተተ // cttā / tett
ፈፈ / fk	“to give”	ዓፈፈ / akka
ፀፀ / bḍu	“to divide”	ዓፀፀ / aṭṭa

#### 1.4. The imperative

The imperative mood bifurcates into two sorts of forms: the simple form and the intensive form. The first consists of the aorist form of the verb along with the imperative inflectional markers (*cf.* 5.1.2 *b*).

፻፻፶ ! / ffṽ !	“go out!”
፻፻፶ዓተ / ፻፻፶፭ ! // ffṽat / ffṽm !	“go out (plr. masc.)!”
፻፻፶፭ተ / ፻፻፶፭ተ ! // ffṽamt / ffṽmt !	“go out (plr. fem.)!”

The second form of the imperative mood, dubbed *intensive imperative*, is characterized by the use of the imperfective theme alongside with the imperative markers. It expresses a repeated process:

ተተ፻፻፶ ! / ttffṽ !	“(always) go out!”
ተተ፻፻፶(ዓ)፭ተ ! // ttffṽ(a)mt !	“(always) go out (plr. fem.)!”
፳፳፻፶፱ ዓ፳ ! // ssawl as !	“(always) talk to him!”

In the negative imperative form, it is the intensive form of the verb that is frequently used:

ዓ፳ ተተ፻፻፶ ! ur ttffṽ !	or	ዓ፳ ዓ፳ ተተ፻፻፶ ! ad ur ttffṽ !	“Do not go out!”
ዓ፳ ተተ፻፻፶፭ተ ! ur ttffṽamt !	or	ዓ፳ ዓ፳ ተተ፻፻፶፭ተ ! ad ur ttffṽamt !	“Do not go out (plr. fem.)!”
ዓ፳ ጸፍፍ ! ur kccm !	or	ዓ፳ ዓ፳ ጸፍፍ ! ad ur kccm !	“Do not enter!”

Let it be noted that the imperative form with ዓ፳ ዓ፳ / ad ur expresses a slight semantic undertone if compared to the negative imperative form without ዓ፳ / ad. The use of ዓ፳ / ad expresses shades of meaning associated with threatening and prohibition.



The ၵၤ ၵၤ / ad ur negative imperative form is also used with the aorist form of the verb and the usual verbal markers (*cf.* 5.1.2 a).

ၵၤ ၵၤ ၵၵၵၤ ၵ ! / ad ur tddum !	“Do not go (plr. masc.)!”
ၵၤ ၵၤ ၵၵၵၤ ၵ ! / ad ur tffym !	“Do not go out (plr. masc.)!”

## 2. Derived verbs

Derived verbs obtain from simple verbs, by virtue of prefixation of one of the following morphemes: the causative ၵ / ၵၵ // s / ss, the passive ၵၵ / tt and the reciprocal ၵ / ၵၵ // m / mm. However, non-derived verbs do not all have a corresponding derived form. Furthermore, while some verbs obtain in the three derived forms, other verbs accept only one or two forms.

Not unlike non-derived forms, the derived forms are conjugated in all the four afore-mentioned themes; they also have an imperative form. In some special contexts, they are observed in the participial form. In the aorist and imperfective themes, the derived forms are used with the same aspectual particles employed with non-derived verbs.

ၵၵၵၤ ၵၵၵၤ ၵ ! / ssufy imḥḍarn !	“Get the students out!”
ၵၵၵၤ ၵၵၵၤ ၵၵၵၤ ၵ ! / issufy imḥḍarn.	“He got the students out!”
ၵၵၵၤ ၵၵၵၤ ၵ ! / msawalnin	“who talked to each other”
ၵ ၵၵၵၤ ၵၵၵၤ ၵၵၵၤ ၵ ! / ad issidf inbgiwn !	“that he brings the guests in!”
ၵ ၵၵၵၤ ၵၵၵၤ ၵၵၵၤ ၵ ! / la issufy awal.	“He discloses secrets.”
ၵၵၵၤ ၵၵၵၤ ၵ ! / msawalat !	“Talk to each other!”

### 2.1. The causative form

#### a. Structure

The causative form, which expresses causality, is used to confer the idea of “making do” or “making happen”. The causative form obtains by prefixing ၵ / s-(simple) or ၵၵ / ss- (geminate) to intransitive verbs.

- The non-tense prefix 𐌆- / s- is generally used with verbs that start with a consonant.

𐌵 / ny	“to ride”	→	𐌆𐌵 / sny	“to help someone ride”
𐌶𐌵 / gn	“to sleep”	→	𐌆𐌶𐌵 / sgn	“to make someone sleep”
EQ / 𐌳𐌳	“to go down”	→	𐌆EQ / s𐌳𐌳	“to drop”
𐌶𐌶𐌵 / qqim	“to sit down”	→	𐌆𐌶𐌵 / syim	“to make someone sit”
𐌵𐌵 / mun	“to keep company”	→	𐌆𐌵𐌵 / smun	“to assemble”
𐌶𐌶𐌵 / zri	“to cross”	→	𐌆𐌶𐌶𐌵 / zzri	“to make someone cross”
𐌆𐌆𐌆 / bdd	“to stand up”	→	𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 / sbdd	“to make someone stand up”
𐌶𐌶𐌵 / wala	“to be near”	→	𐌆𐌶𐌶𐌵 / swala	“to place near”

- The geminate prefix 𐌆𐌆- / ss- is generally used with vowel-initial verbs and sporadically with consonant-initial. The initial vowel may undergo some alterations.

𐌆𐌵 / aru	“to give birth to”	→	𐌆𐌆𐌵𐌵 / 𐌆𐌆𐌶𐌵 // ssaru / ssiru	“to help a woman deliver ....”
𐌆𐌶𐌵 / alla	“to weep”	→	𐌆𐌆𐌶𐌵 / ssalla	“to make someone weep”
𐌶𐌶𐌵 / iriw	“to be broad”	→	𐌆𐌆𐌶𐌶𐌵 / ssiriw	“to broaden”
𐌶𐌶𐌵 / ugur	“to walk”	→	𐌆𐌆𐌶𐌶𐌵 / ssugur	“to make someone walk”
𐌆𐌶𐌵 / aw𐌳	“to arrive”	→	𐌆𐌆𐌶𐌶𐌵 / ssiw𐌳	“to send something to somebody”
𐌆𐌶𐌵 / 𐌶𐌶𐌵 / arid / irid	“to be washed”	→	𐌆𐌆𐌶𐌶𐌵 / ssird	“to wash”
𐌆𐌶𐌵 / 𐌳𐌳	“to be breastfed”	→	𐌆𐌆𐌶𐌶𐌵 / 𐌆𐌆𐌶𐌶𐌵 // ssu𐌳𐌳 / ssu𐌳𐌳	“to breastfeed”
𐌶𐌶𐌵 / kcm	“to get in”	→	𐌆𐌆𐌶𐌶𐌵 / sskcm	“to bring in”

- The causative morpheme 𐌸- / s- is realised as 𐌵 / z, 𐌶 / c or 𐌷 / j, by assimilation, if the basic form of the verb includes one of the three afore-mentioned consonants:

𐌵𐌵𐌵 / azzl	“to run”	→	𐌸𐌸𐌵𐌵𐌵 [𐌵𐌵𐌵𐌵𐌵] ssizzl [zzizzl]	“to make run, to commute”
𐌶𐌶𐌶 / kcm	“to get in”	→	𐌸𐌸𐌶𐌶𐌶 [𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶] sskcm [cckcm]	“to bring in”
𐌷𐌷𐌷 / jji	“to be cured”	→	𐌸𐌸𐌷𐌷𐌷 [𐌷𐌷𐌷𐌷𐌷] ssijji [jjijji]	“to cure”
𐌷𐌷𐌷 / jju	“to smell good”	→	𐌸𐌷𐌷𐌷 [𐌷𐌷𐌷𐌷] sujju [jujju]	“to perfume”

- The prefixation of the causative morpheme 𐌸- / s- may induce the degemination of one of the consonants of the verb root (𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶 / qqim > 𐌸𐌸𐌶𐌶 / syim, 𐌶𐌶𐌶 / ttđ > 𐌸𐌸𐌶𐌶 / ssuđđ).
- The verbs that start with 𐌸- / s- are not necessarily causative. The morpheme 𐌸- / s- can also function as a verbalizer, i.e. it enables the derivation of a verb from a noun, as illustrated in the following examples:

𐌸𐌶𐌶 / ađu	“wind”	→	𐌸𐌶𐌶 / suđ	“to blow”
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶 / ufsan	“spitting”	→	𐌸𐌸𐌶𐌶𐌶 / ssufs	“to spit”
𐌶𐌶𐌶 / awal	“talk”	→	𐌸𐌸𐌶𐌶𐌶 / 𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶 // ssawl / sawl	“to talk”
𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶 / ayuyyu	“screaming”	→	𐌸𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶 / 𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶 // syuyyu / syuyy	“to scream”

### ***b. Conjugation***

Not unlike the other derived forms, the causative form is conjugated in the different verbal themes.

#### ***- The perfective form***

The perfective form of causative verbs is identical to their aorist form.

Aorist	Perfective	Gloss
𐌸𐌸𐌶𐌶 ssufy	𐌸𐌸𐌶𐌶 ssufy	“to get someone out”

ᐅᐅᐱᐱ sbdd	ᐅᐅᐱᐱ sbdd	“to make someone stand up”
ᐅᐱᐅᐱᐱ sgall	ᐅᐱᐅᐱᐱ sgall	“to make someone swear”
ᐅᐱᐅᐱᐱ smun	ᐅᐱᐅᐱᐱ smun	“to assemble”

### - *The imperfective form*

The same processes observed in the formation of the imperfective form may well hold for the causative form, i.e. vocalic alternation and ᐅᐅ- / tt- prefixation. However, it is the vocalic alternation that is more observed.

### - *Vocalic alternation*

In general terms, the verbs consisting of a set of consonants and a single vowel evince an alternation within the root, i.e. the appearance of a second vowel (ᐅ / a, ᐅ / u or ᐅ / i) before the final consonant of the imperfective verb. The alternation may also hold at the end of the verb. The verbs made up of consonants only may also be subject to vowel insertion.

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱ ssadf	“to bring in”	ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱ ssadaf
ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱ ssufy	“to get someone out”	ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱ ssufuy
ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱ ssukf	“to uproot”	ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱ ssukuf
ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱ ssird	“to wash”	ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱ ssirid
ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱ ssiwᐱ	“to send something to somebody”	ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱ ssiwᐱ
ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱ ssns	“to make someone spend the night”	ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱ ssns
ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱ ssry	“to light”	ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱ ssrya
ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱ ssyli	“to lift”	ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ssaqqalay
ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱ sskcm	“to bring in”	ᐅᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ sskcam



ⵏⵙ / amz	“to arrest”	→	ⵜⵓⵏⵙ / ttwamz // ⵜⵙⵏⵙ / ttyamaz // ⵜⵙⵏⵙⵓ / ttyimiz	“to be arrested”
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Conversely, the morphemes ⵜⵓ- / ttu- and ⵜⵙⵓ- / ttiw- are, more often than not, prefixed to consonant-initial verbs.

ⵑⵉⵔ / bɔu	“to divide”	→	ⵜⵓⵑⵉⵔ / ttubɔu // ⵜⵙⵓⵑⵉⵔ / ttiwbɔu	“to be divided”
ⵎⵖⵔ / mgr	“to reap”	→	ⵜⵓⵎⵖⵔ / ttumgr // ⵜⵙⵓⵎⵖⵔ / ttiwmgr	“to be reaped”
ⵕⵓⵙ / krz	“to plow”	→	ⵜⵓⵕⵓⵙ / ttukrz // ⵜⵙⵓⵕⵓⵙ / ttiwkriz	“to be plowed”

ⵜⵓ- / ttw-, which is usually observed with vowel-initial verbs, may also appear with verbs with initial tense consonants.

ⵝⵝ / qqn	“to close”	→	ⵜⵓⵝⵝ / ttwaqqn	“to be closed”
ⵎⵎⵓ / zzu	“to plant”	→	ⵜⵓⵎⵎⵓ / ttwazzu	“to be planted”
ⵏⵏⵙ / ddz	“to grind”	→	ⵜⵓⵏⵏⵙ / ttwaddz	“to be ground”
ⵎⵎⵙ / zzg	“to milk”	→	ⵜⵓⵎⵎⵙ / ttwazzg	“to be milked”

With respect to the derivational morpheme ⵜⵓ- / ttu-, it can appear before a vowel (when this scenario holds, the first vowel of the verb is deleted) or a consonant.

ⵉⵏⵉ / ini	“to tell”	→	ⵜⵓⵉⵏⵉ / ⵉ // ttunna/i	“to be told”
ⵖⵔ / gr	“to throw”	→	ⵜⵓⵖⵔ / ttugr	“to be thrown”

Another form with ⵏⵏ- / nn-, although not frequently used, may also be used to express the passive form.

ⵕⵓⵎ / krf	“to hobble”	→	ⵏⵏⵕⵓⵎ / nnkrf	“to be hobbled, to suffer from rheumatism”
ⵓⵎ / rɔm	“to open”	→	ⵏⵏⵓⵎ / nnrɔm	“to be loosened”
ⵖⵓⵎ / gzm	“to cut”	→	ⵏⵏⵖⵓⵎ / nngzm	“to be cut”

The Amazigh language recognizes another sort of passive form, termed *primitive* passive. Under this category, the verb appears in an ordinary non-derived form without a direct object. The verbs of this category confer a passive meaning by themselves; they do not necessarily need the common

passive prefixes (ተተ / ttw, ተኘ / tty ...). Examples of such verbs are ቦጽ / krz “to plough, to be ploughed”, ረጽዐ / mgr “to saw, to be sawed”, ሂሂ / qqn “to close, to be closed”, ለለጽ / ddz “to grind, to be ground” and ባጽ / rz “to break, to be broken” which often appear in the passive primitive form.

ጸቦጽ ነጽጽዐ. / ikrz yigr.	“The field is ploughed.”
ጸረጽዐ ነጽጽዐ. / imgr yigr.	“The field is reaped.”
ተሂሂ ተኸዐተ. / tqqn tflut.	“The door is closed.”
ጸለለጽ ዐጼዐ. / iddz uḡarif.	“The alum is ground.”
ጸባጼ ዐሃዐ. / irṣa uṡanim.	“The reed is broken.”

### *b. Conjugation*

The perfective form of passive verbs is always identical to the aorist form of ordinary non-derived verbs.

ዐርጽ / amṣ	“to grab”	→	ተተዐ.ርጽ / ttwamṣ	“to be grabbed”
ዐጽዘ / agl	“to hang”	→	ተተዐ.ጽዘ / ttwagl	“to be hung”

The negative perfective form may well be accompanied by an insertion of the vowel ጸ / i before the final consonant.

Aorist	Gloss	Perfective Pass.	Neg. Perfective Pass.
ፍርተ cmt	“to dupe”	ተተዐ.ፍርተ / ተተፍርተ ttwacmt / ttucmt	ተተዐ.ፍርጸተ / ተተፍርጸተ ttwacmit / ttucmit

The imperfective form is generally characterized by the insertion of a vowel before the final consonant of the verb.

Aorist	Gloss	Aorist Pass.	Imperfective Pass.	Gloss
ሂሂ qqn	“to close”	ተተዐ.ሂሂ ttwaqqn	ተተዐ.ሂሂዐ ttwaqqan	“to be closed”
ርዘ ml	“to show”	ተተዐ.ርዘ ttwaml	ተተዐ.ርዐዘ ttwamal	“to be shown”
ዘርላ lmd	“to learn”	ተተዐ.ዘርላ ttwalmd	ተተዐ.ዘርዐላ ttwalmad	“to be learnt”

## 2.3. The reciprocal form

### a. Structure

The reciprocal form is used to express the simultaneity of an action effected or undergone by two or more participants. It is marked by prefixing 𐌌- / m- (or its variants 𐌌𐌌- / mm- and 𐌌𐌶- / my-) to the simple form of the verb.

𐌌𐌌𐌶𐌵𐌳. / mmnyan.	“They quarreled (one with another).”
𐌵𐌳𐌵𐌵𐌵𐌵𐌵. / da ttmsqsan.	“They are informing each other.”
𐌌𐌌𐌶𐌵𐌳𐌵𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶. / mmzran g ssuq.	“They saw each other at the market.”

A vowel is usually inserted before or after the final consonant of the reciprocal verb, depending on the category of the verb used.

Aorist	Gloss		Reciprocal Form	Gloss
𐌌𐌵𐌵 / cawr	“to consult”	→	𐌌𐌌𐌵𐌵𐌵 / mcawar	“to consult each other”
𐌌𐌌𐌶𐌵𐌶 / ssafđ	“to send”	→	𐌌𐌌𐌶𐌵𐌶𐌶 / msafad	“to see off (each other)”
𐌶𐌵 / zr	“to see”	→	𐌌𐌌𐌶𐌵𐌶 / mmzra	“to see each other”
𐌶𐌵 / yr	“to call”	→	𐌌𐌌𐌶𐌵𐌶𐌶 / mmyra	“to call each other”

Let it be noted that the variant 𐌌𐌶- / my- is used with vowel-initial verbs or with verbs that contain a geminate consonant.

𐌵𐌶𐌶 / awđ	“to arrive”	→	𐌌𐌶𐌵𐌶𐌶𐌶 / myawađ	“to join each other”
𐌶𐌶𐌶 / kks	“to remove”	→	𐌌𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌶 / myukkas	“to remove mutually”
𐌶𐌶 / af	“to find”	→	𐌌𐌶𐌵𐌶𐌶 / myafa	“to find each other”



## ***b. Conjugation***

### ***- The perfective form***

The perfective form of a broad range of reciprocal verbs exhibits a vowel insertion before the final consonant:

᠘ᠥᠠᠭ / cawɹ	“to consult”	→	᠘᠘ᠥᠠᠭ / mcawɹ	“to consult each other”
ᠰᠠᠰᠠᠳᠤ / ssafɖ	“to send”	→	᠘ᠣᠰᠠᠳᠤ / msafɖ	“to see off (one another)”
ᠠᠠᠰ / aws	“to help”	→	᠘ᠰᠠᠠᠰ / myawas	“to help each other”

The perfective form of verbs like ᠬᠣ / ʏr “to call” and ᠮᠵᠠ / ʒɹ “to see, to watch” is identical to the simple form.

ᠮᠵᠠ / ʒɹa	“to have seen”	→	᠘᠘ᠮᠵᠠ / mmʒɹa	“to have seen each other”
ᠨᠶᠠ / nyɹa	“to have killed”	→	᠘᠘ᠨᠶᠠ / mmnyɹa	“to have quarreled with each other”
ᠬᠣᠠ / ʏra	“to have called”	→	᠘᠘ᠬᠣᠠ / mmʏra	“to have called each other”

### ***- The imperfective form***

The reciprocal form is generally characterized by the prefixation of ᠠᠠ / tt-:

ᠮᠵᠠ / ʒɹ	“to see”	→	ᠠᠠ᠘᠘ᠮᠵᠠ / ttmmʒɹa	“to see each other frequently”
ᠨᠶᠠ / ny	“to kill”	→	ᠠᠠ᠘᠘ᠨᠶᠠ / ttmmnyɹa	“to quarrel with each other”
ᠰᠠᠠᠳᠤ / ᠰᠠᠠᠳᠤᠠᠠ // sawl / ssiwl	“to talk”	→	ᠠᠠ᠘ᠣᠰᠠᠳᠤᠠᠠ / ttmsawal	“to talk to each other frequently”

## **2.4. Overderived forms**

An overderived form is a form that combines two derivational prefixes with different values:

	Gloss	Derivation	Overderivation	
		<i>Causative Form</i>	<i>Passive + Causative</i>	<i>Reciprocal + Causative</i>
ዘዘሃ / ffɣ	“to go out”	ፀፀዘሃ / ssufɣ	ተፀፀዘሃ / ttusufɣ	ፈፀዘሃ / msufay
ጸጸዘገ / ggall	“to swear”	ፀጸዘገ / sgall		ፈጸዘገ / msgall
ነሃ / ny	“to kill”			ፈፀነሃ / msny

The forms ፈፀዘሃ / msufay, ተፀፀዘሃ / ttusufɣ, ፈፀነሃ / msny and ፈጸዘገ / msgall are overderived verbs. These forms show that the causative affix ፀ- / s- can be conjoined with the reciprocal morpheme ፈ / m or with the passive morpheme ተፀ- / ttu- (bringing about complex affixes such as ፈፀ- / ms- and ተፀፀ- / ttus-). The complex affix ፀፈ- / sm- is also used as in: ፀፈጸጸጸፀ / smiggir “to get two people to meet”, ፀፈሃ / smay and ፀፈነሃ / smnya “to cause a quarrel”.

### 3. Aspectual particles

Very few contexts are observed where the aorist and perfective verbs stand alone. They are, frequently, preceded by particles, dubbed aspectual particles. These aspectual particles are set out below:

• **ዕ** / ar, **ከ** / la, **ል** / da and **ዕፂ** / aqqa: They are used, in a mutually exclusive fashion, before verbs which are conjugated in the imperfective theme.

ዕ ጸተለለ። / ar itddu.	“He always leaves.”
ዕፂ ጸጸጸፀ. / aqqa iggur.	“He is walking.”
ል ተፀፀፀፀል ተፀፀፀ. / da tssirid taḍut.	“She is washing the wool.”
ከ ተፀፀፀፀፀ. / la nttinziz.	“We are singing.”

• **ለ** / ad and **ዐለ** / rad (or **ዐ** / ra): These particles precede verbs in the aorist form. **ለ** / ad expresses the future and a number of other modal values such as wishing, fear, etc. **ዐለ** / rad, conversely, expresses the future only.

ለ ፀሃ። ለእፂፀ. / ad syn adlis.	“They will buy the book.”
ዐፂሃ ለ ጸለለ። / riɣ ad iddu.	“I want him to go.”
ዐለ ጸፂፂ ለእፂፀ. / rad idr udfi.	“The snow will fall.”

• **○●Λ / rad** (○● / **ra** is the abbreviated form) has another variant **◎●Λ / sad** that expresses certainty in the future:

◎●Λ ξ○●Λ. / sad irah. “He will surely go.”

• The particle **●Λ / ad** has two variants, **¥● / ya** and **○● / ra**, which are used in environments where **●Λ / ad** is excluded. **○● / ra** is used with the aorist or the imperfective; **¥● / ya** is used with the participial form after **●ʒ / ay** and **●Λ / ad**:

(Λ) ㄸㄸㄸㄸ◎ ●ʒ ¥● ξ○●Λ. / (d) memmis ay ya irahn.	“It is his brother who will go.”
ㄸㄸ● ㄸ● ¥● †ㄸㄸΛ ? / çhal ay ya tucd ?	“How many / much will you give?”

The topicalizers **●Λ / ad** and **●ʒ / ay** are realised as **● / a**.

#### 4. Verb phrase

A verb phrase is made up of a verb and its complement(s). It may, nonetheless, take the form of a single verb without complements.

○□□. / rwn. “They fled.”

The verb phrase in the afore-mentioned example consists of a verbal stem **○□□ / rwl** along with its person, gender and number marker **l / n** (*cf.* 5.1.2.a).

The verb along with its inflectional markers are inseparable; the second singular person of the imperative is, nonetheless, an exception because it lacks any overt inflectional person markers: **ㄸㄸㄸ / kcm** “get in”, **ㄸㄸㄸㄸ / qqim** “sit down”.

The minimal structure of the verb phrase may, therefore, be formulated in the following fashion:

**(affix) + verb stem + (affix)**

The form in the example above may well be extended by adding a postposed noun phrase that has the function of a lexical subject (usually optional).

ξㄸㄸㄸ (ㄸ○Θ●). / iffɣ (urba). “He got out, (the boy).”

Other than the lexical subject, the verb phrase may include a complement or a bunch of complements depending on the nature of the verb.

**(affix) + verb stem + (affix) + (lexical subject) + complement**

#### 4.1. Intransitive verbs

Put more broadly, this sort of verbs do not have direct or indirect objects, as is the case for the following verbs: 𐤅𐤅𐤕 / ffy, 𐤒𐤌 / ɾaḥ and 𐤇𐤌𐤕 / mmt.

𐤅𐤅𐤕 𐤓𐤌𐤁𐤕. / ikcm unbdu.	“Summer is here.”
𐤅𐤒𐤌 𐤅𐤍𐤏. / iṛaḥ iḏnnaṭ.	“He went yesterday.”
𐤅𐤇𐤌𐤕. / immut.	“He is dead.”

#### 4.2. Direct transitive verbs

Direct transitive verbs have direct object complements. The following elements can serve as direct objects of transitive verbs:

- **An ordinary noun:**

𐤅𐤏𐤓𐤓 𐤅𐤓𐤌𐤁𐤕. / “He put the clothes out to dry.”  
ifsr ihdumn.

- **A proper noun:**

𐤅𐤌𐤒𐤌 𐤇𐤒𐤌. / “He saw Mama.”  
izra Mama.

- **A noun phrase:**

𐤅𐤌𐤒𐤌 𐤇𐤒𐤌𐤏𐤓𐤓 | 𐤓𐤇𐤌𐤏. / “He saw his nephew.”  
izra memmis n umas.

- **A numeral noun phrase:**

𐤅𐤌𐤒𐤌 𐤓𐤌𐤕 (l) 𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤌. / “He saw two girls.”  
izra snat (n) trbatin.

- **An indefinite pronoun:**

𐤅𐤌𐤒𐤌 𐤒𐤓𐤌. / “He saw something.”  
izra kra.

- **A demonstrative pronoun:**

𐤅𐤌𐤒𐤌 𐤗𐤓. / “He saw this (one).”  
izra wa.

- **A possessive noun:**

𐤅𐤌𐤒𐤌 𐤒𐤓𐤌. / “He saw something.”  
izra kra.

ᲙᲞᲔ. ᲛᲙᲗ. /  
izra winu.

“He saw mine.”

### 4.3. Indirect transitive verbs

An indirect transitive verb is a verb whose complement is introduced by a preposition:

ᲙᲢᲔ. Კ ᲙᲙᲙ.Კ ᲙᲢ. / iyra i uḍggal nns.	“He called his father-in-law.”
ᲢᲢᲙᲙᲙ Კ ᲙᲙᲙ. / ssiwln i umnay.	“They talked to the knight.”
ᲙᲙᲙ ᲙᲙ ᲙᲙᲙ. / tḍr xf uḗru.	“She fell on a stone.”

### 4.4. Symmetrical verbs

These verbs keep the same form irrespective of the nature of voice, active or passive.

1.a. ᲙᲙᲙ ᲙᲙ ᲙᲙᲙ. / iḗm as axam.	“He opened the (door of the) house for her.”
1.b. ᲙᲙᲙ ᲙᲙᲙ. / iḗm uxam.	“The (door of the) house is open.”

2.a. ᲙᲙᲙ ᲙᲙᲙᲙ. / tddz aḗarif.	“She ground alum.”
2.b. ᲙᲙᲙ ᲙᲙᲙᲙ. / iddz uḗarif.	“Alum is ground.”

3.a. ᲙᲙᲙ ᲙᲙᲙᲙᲙ. / iqqn tawwurt.	“He closed the door.”
3.4. ᲙᲙᲙ ᲙᲙᲙᲙᲙ. / tqqn tawwurt.	“The door is closed.”

In the sentences (1a), (2a) and (3a), all the verbs are transitive and have a direct object. Conversely, the sentences (1b), (2b) and (3b) are passive structures even if the verbs do not have morphological passive markers (*cf.* 5.2.2). Importantly, the direct object of their active equivalents becomes a lexical subject with the role of a patient and takes the construct state inflectional morphology (ᲙᲙᲙ / uxam, ᲙᲙᲙᲙ / uḗarif, ᲙᲙᲙᲙᲙ / twwurt). As regards the verbs, no mismatch is observed between their active and passive voice forms. And the only observed change is the agreement that holds between the verb and the new subject.

Let it also be noted that a number of verbs admit the two passive forms, as the verb  $\Lambda\Lambda\mathfrak{X}$  / ddz “to grind” shows below:

$\xi\Lambda\Lambda\mathfrak{X} \text{ } \mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X} \text{ } \mathfrak{Q}\xi\mathfrak{H}$ . / iddz uẓarîf.	“Alum is ground.”
$\xi\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X} \text{ } \mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X} \text{ } \mathfrak{Q}\xi\mathfrak{H}$ . / ittwaddz uẓarîf	“Alum was ground.”

#### 4.5. Link verbs

In general terms, a link verb introduces a quality noun and links the subject to the nominal predicate. The sentence with a link verb is characterized by the presence of the verb  $\mathfrak{X}$  / g which has the meaning of “to be, to do”. In the remainder of this section, only the first meaning will be addressed. In the examples set out below, it is the nouns  $\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$  / uccn,  $\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$  / aflah and  $\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$  / azgg<sup>w</sup>ay that function as the nominal predicates of the sentences, given their essential semantic contribution to the meaning of the sentences.

$\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X} \text{ } \mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X} \text{ } \mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$ . / masin iga uccn.	“Massine is a wolf.”
$\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X} \text{ } \mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X} \text{ } \mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$ . / babas iga aflah.	“His father is a farmer.”
$\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X} \text{ } \mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$ . / iga azgg <sup>w</sup> ay.	“It is red.”

At the syntactic level, the copula  $\mathfrak{X}$  / g is a full-fledged verb. It does not only behave like an ordinary verb in the sentence but it is also conjugated in the various verbal themes and receives the same verbal morphological markers.

$\mathfrak{X}$  /  $\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$  // g / gg + NP:

$\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X} \text{ } \mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$ . / iga away.	“It is yellow.”
$\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X} \text{ } \mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$ . / iga anymas.	“He is a journalist.”
$\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X} \text{ } \mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$ . / tga tanymast.	“She is a journalist.”

#### 4.6. Particles of orientation $\Lambda$ / d and $\mathfrak{I}$ / n

$\Lambda$  ( $\xi\Lambda$ ) / d (id) and  $\mathfrak{I}$  ( $\xi\mathfrak{I}$ ) / nn (inn) are two particles that are used to indicate the orientation of an action.  $\Lambda$  / d orients the action towards the speaker, while  $\mathfrak{I}$  / nn orients it towards the interlocutor. These two directional particles can be combined with dynamic verbs as well as with verbs that presuppose movement.

- *With dynamic verbs*

Ŷ%ƆƆ. ʌ. / yucka d.	“He came here.”
Ŷ%ƆƆ. ʌʌ. / yucka nn.	“He came (over there).”
Ŷ%ƆƆ. ʌ. / iffɣ d.	“He went out (from here).”

- *With ordinary verbs*

Ŷ%Ɔ. ʌ. / yufa d.	“He found (over here).”
Ŷ%Ɔ. ʌʌ. / yufa nn.	“He found (over there).”
Ŷ%Ɔ. ʌ. / issiwl d.	“He talked (here).”

The two particles can express a temporal value (Ŷ%Ɔ. ++ Ŷ%Ɔ / ikka tt inn “once upon a time”):

Ŷ%Ɔ. ʌ. ʌ%Ɔ. / idda d unbd.	“Summer is drawing near.”
Ŷ%Ɔ. ʌ. / imqur d.	“He has become old.”

More often than not, the particles ʌ / d and ʌ / ʌʌ-n / nn obtain after the verb. However, in some specific contexts and with a particular range of morphemes, the particles hold in a preverbal position.

- *The aspectual morphemes ʌ / ad, ʌ%Ɔ / rad, ʌ%Ɔ / la and ʌ%Ɔ / da:*

ʌ ʌ Ŷ%Ɔ. / ad d yas.	“He will come (over here).”
ʌ%Ɔ. ʌʌ ʌʌ%Ɔ. ʌ%Ɔ. / rad awn nn awiy aman.	“I will bring you water (from there).”
ʌ%Ɔ. ʌ ++ʌʌ%Ɔ. ʌ%Ɔ. / da d ttddun yurnɣ.	“They will visit us.”

- *The negative morpheme ʌ%Ɔ / ur:*

ʌ%Ɔ ʌ Ŷ%Ɔ. / ur d yusi.	“He did not come here.”
ʌ%Ɔ ʌ Ŷ%Ɔ. / ur nn iddi.	“He did not go (there).”

- *Interrogative pronouns:*

ʌ ʌ Ŷ%Ɔ. ? / wi d iffɣn ?	“Who got out (from here)?”
ʌ%Ɔ. ʌ ʌ%Ɔ. ? / ma ad d yuckan ?	“Who arrived (here)?”
ʌ%Ɔ. ʌ ʌ%Ɔ. ? / ma nn yuckan ?	“Who came (over there)?”
Ŷ%Ɔ ʌ Ŷ%Ɔ. ? / is d irwl ?	“Did he flee (from here)?”
Ŷ%Ɔ ʌ Ŷ%Ɔ. ? / is nn irwl ?	“Did he flee (from there)?”

• *Subordinators:*

ᐸᐸᐸ ᐱ ᓂᐸᐸ. ᐸᐸᐸ ᐱᐸᐸ ᐸᐸ. / mri d yusa iri nniy ak t.	“If he had come (over here), I would have told it to you.”
ᐸᐸᐸ ᐱ ᓂᐸᐸ. ᐸᐸᐸ ᐱᐸᐸ ᐸᐸ. / mri nn yusa iri nniy ak t.	“If he had come (over there), I would have told it to you.”
ᐸᐸᐸᐸ ᐱ ᐸᐸᐸ. ᐸᐸ ᐸᐸᐸᐸ. / mqqar d idda ur as samhy.	“Even if he comes (over here), I will not excuse him.”
ᐸᐸᐸ ᐸᐸᐸ. ᐸᐸᐸ ᐱ ᓂᐸᐸᐸ. / ssny arba lli d yusan.	“I know the boy who came (over here).”
ᐸᐸᐸ ᐸᐸᐸ. ᐸ ᐸᐸ ᐱ ᓂᐸᐸᐸ. / ssny arba i ya nn yasn.	“I know the boy who will come (over there).”

The particles ᐱ / d and ᐱ / nn always obtain after the direct object pronouns, and are realized respectively as ᐸᐱ / id and ᐸᐱ / in if they follow an obstruent dental stop.

ᐸᐸᐸ + ᐸᐱ ! / awi t id !	“Take it!”
ᐸᐸᐸ + ᐸᐱ ! / awi t in !	“Take it!”
ᐸᐸᐸᐸ + ᐸᐱ. / syin tt id.	“They bought it.”



## CHAPTER 6

### The preposition

The preposition is a part of speech that belongs to the category of link words. The central function of a preposition is to link up words and combine them in larger constructions. The preposition never appears without an object; the latter may take the form of a noun, pronoun or another preposition.

There are two sorts of prepositions: simple and complex. They have different semantic values, such as spatio-temporal, instrumental, directional and possessive, among other values.

#### 1. Ordinary prepositions

##### *a. The preposition l / n*

Depending on the context where it is used, the preposition l / n “of, to” may have different semantic values, such as possession, belonging, determination and origin (source).

##### *- Possession*

◦Ḳ◦◦   ◦Ḳ◦ / amur n uma	“my brother’s share”
◦◦†◦   Ḳ◦Ḳ†Ḳ◦ / urtu n wultma	“my sister’s orchard”

##### *- Belonging*

✱✱ḲḲ◦   †◦ḲḲḲ   zẓẓḲḲ n taliwin	“saffron of Taliwin”
ḲḲḲḲ◦   ◦◦◦ḲḲ / imdyazn n arrif	“the singers of Rif”

##### *- Determination*

◦ḲḲ◦   ḲḲḲḲ◦ / ayyur n kṭubṛ	“the month of October”
ḲḲ†   †ḲḲ◦◦† / ict n tmyart	“a woman”

- *Origin and provenance*

ᐅᓕᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐ / aman n trg <sup>wa</sup> a	“the channel water”
ᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐ / ᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐᓐ / islman n wasif	“the fish of the river”

- Matter, nature and qualification

ተ.ርርተ   ፡ጼ፡ጸ፡፡ / tammnt n uzuknni	“the honey of thyme”
ተ፤፬ዋ፡፡ተ   ፡ጼ፡፬፡፡ / tisynst n uzrf	“silver fibula”

***b. The preposition  $\xi$  / i “to, for”***

The preposition ξ / i “to, for” expresses attribution or destination and usually precedes the indirect object of a transitive verb.

፳፻፶ ተፅዕኖት ሆኗል። / fkiy tasarut i wumak.	“I have given the key to your brother”
፳፻፶ ለ፳፻፶ ለ፳፻፶። / isawl i udggal nns.	“He talked to his son-in-law”

**c. The preposition  $\odot / s$**

The preposition  $\odot$  / s “to, towards, with, by means of” has directional (towards, to), instrumental (with, by means of) or causal values.

- *Direction*

ᐱᐱᐱ ᐅ ᐸᐱᐳᐵᐅᐸ. / ddan s tmazirt.	“They went to their homeland.”
ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐳᐵ ᐅ ᐱᐅᐳᐅᐸ. / ad nddu s mrirt.	“We shall go to Mrirt.”
ᐸᐱᐱᐳᐵ ᐅ ᐱᐳᐱᐸ. / tdda s midlt.	“She went to Midlt.”

When the preposition  $\odot$  / s expresses a directional value, it can conjoin with the prepositions  $\text{ʔ}\odot$  / yr or  $\Lambda\odot$  / dar ‘at, towards’ along different orders.

- 𐤏𐤍 + 𐤇 / yr + s expresses direction and does not exercise any effect on the case of the noun that follows, i.e. the noun does not take the construct state:

ΛΛο  ԿՕ Թ. օՀԻՏՕ. / ddan yr s ahfir.	“They went to Ahfir.”
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-  $\odot + \Lambda\circ$  / s + **dar** expresses the notion of “being at someone’s house”:

$\Lambda\Lambda\xi\psi \odot \Lambda\circ \overline{\chi}\text{C}\circ$ / ddiɣ s dar g <sup>w</sup> ma.	“I went to my brother’s home.”
--	--------------------------------

- *Means*

$\xi\ast Q\circ + \odot + \xi\text{E}\text{E}\circ\text{I}\text{I}\xi\text{I} \parallel \odot$ / izɾa t s tiɕɾawin nns.	“He saw him with his own eyes.”
$\Lambda\Lambda\circ\text{I} \odot \text{:E}\circ Q$ / ddan s uɕar.	“They went on foot”

- *Cause*

$\text{C}\text{C}\text{:}\psi \odot \text{H}\circ\Lambda$ / mmuty s fad.	“I am extremely thirsty.”
$\xi\text{I}\text{K}\text{H} \odot + \text{I}\text{:}\text{O}\xi$ / iwɬl s twuri.	“He is tired because of work.”

#### d. The preposition $\overline{\chi}$ / g

The preposition  $\overline{\chi}$  / g “in, at”, which may well surface as  $\psi$  / ɣ,  $\chi$  / x and  $\text{K}$  / h, expresses a spatio-temporal value.

• *Spatial localization*

$\text{:H}\xi\psi + \overline{\chi} + \circ\Lambda\Lambda\circ\text{O}+$ / ufiɣ t g taddart.	“I found him / it in the house.”
$\xi\text{H}\circ \overline{\chi} \text{:}\xi\psi\text{O}\text{C}$ / illa g yiɣrm.	“He is in Ighrm.”

• *Temporal localization*

$\text{O}\circ\text{K}\text{I} \overline{\chi} \text{:}\xi\text{E}$ / raɬn g yiɕ.	“They went at night.”
$\Lambda\circ \xi\text{E}\text{E}\circ Q \text{:}\Lambda\text{H}\text{H} \overline{\chi} + \overline{\chi}\text{O}\text{O}+$ / da iɕɾar uɕfl g tɾst.	“Snow falls in winter.”

#### e. The preposition $\Lambda\xi$ / di

The preposition  $\Lambda\xi$  / di “in, at (space)” expresses localization in space. It is realised as  $\Lambda\overline{\chi}$  / dg before a vowel-initial noun.

$\Lambda\overline{\chi} \text{I}\circ\text{C}\circ\text{I}$ / dg waman.	“in water”
$\Lambda\xi + \text{C}\text{:}\text{O}+ \text{I}\text{I}\psi$ / di tmurt nny.	“in our country”
$\Lambda\xi + \xi\text{E}\text{E}\circ\text{I}\text{I}\xi\text{I}$ / di tiɕɾawin	“In Tetouan”

**f. The preposition ጸጸ / zg**

The preposition ጸጸ / zg “from”, and its variants ጸጸ / sg and ጸጸ / zi, express spatio-temporal origin and provenance.

ፊ፡፡፡ ጸጸ ሆ፡፡፡ / ad nbda zg wassa.	“We shall start as of today.”
ተ፡፡፡ ለ ጸጸ ዩ፡፡፡ / tusa d zg Tanja.	“She came from Tangier.”
ጸጸ ጸጸ፡፡ / zi rxxu	“From now on”
ጸጸ ጸ፡፡፡ / zg idmad	“just now”

**g. The prepositions ሃዐ / yr and ለዐ / dar**

The prepositions ሃዐ / yr and ለዐ / dar “towards, at” express a whole range of semantic values such as direction, time and possession.

• *Direction*

This value is expressed by the preposition ሃዐ / yr that has the same semantic value as ፡፡ / s, i.e. directional.

ፊ፡፡፡ ሃዐ ለ፡፡ / awra yr da.	“Come here!”
ለጸ፡፡ ሃዐ ጸ፡፡፡፡፡ / ddiy yr g <sup>w</sup> lmima.	“I went to Goulmima.”
ተ፡፡፡ ሃዐ ጸ፡፡፡፡፡ / truḥ yr gmas.	“She went to see her brother.”
፡፡፡፡፡ ለዐ ተጸ፡፡፡፡፡ / nmmzra dar tgmimi.	“We have seen each other near the house.”

• *Time*

ሃዐ / yr may also serve the semantic value of time and can be followed by the preposition ፡፡ / s.

፡፡፡፡፡ ፡፡፡፡፡ ሃዐ ጸ፡፡፡፡፡ / ncca sksu yr imkli.	“We had couscous at lunch.”
ሃዐ ተ፡፡፡፡፡ / yr tmddit	“at night, in the afternoon.”
ሃዐ ፡፡፡፡፡ ፡፡፡፡፡፡ / yr s anqqr n tafukt	“at sunrise”

#### *h. The preposition ጸዘ / xf*

The preposition ጸዘ / xf “on, concerning, for” can appear in an abbreviated form ጸ / x. The preposition takes its full form when it precedes an affixal personal pronoun (ጸዐዘ / xaf, ሃጸዘ / yif ...). ጸዘ / xf denotes the general meaning of “on”, but can also mean the idea of superiority, domination and force.

ፀፀፀ ዐርዐ ጸዘ ተፎፎፀዘዐተ ! / srs aman xf tṭṭblat.	“Put the water on the table!”
ፀፎ፡ ጸዘ ጸዐ.ፎ ! / bḍu xf ḳṛaḍ !	“Divide into three!”
ዘ፡ ጸጸጸተ ጸዘ ጸርዐፀ. / la ikkat xf gmas.	“He sides with his brother.”
ጸጸጸ ጸዘ ጸርጵ፡ዐፀ. / ikka xf imzurn.	“He passed through Imzouren.”

#### *i. The prepositions ዐጸለ / agd, ለ / d*

The prepositions ዐጸለ / agd and ለ / d mean “with, in company of”. The first preposition has another variant which is ዐጸለ / akd.

ተዘዘሃ ዐጸለ ተርለለ፡ጸጸዘ ዘፀ. / tffṽ agd tmddukkal nns..	“She went out with her friends.”
ተጵ፡ዐተ ዐጸለ ፡ፀርርዐ. / tzyart agd urmman	“grapes and pomegranate”
ጸርዐፀ ለ ዐርለለ፡ጸጸዘ ዘፀ. / imun d umddakkʷl nns.	“He accompanied his friend.”

#### *j. The preposition ጸዐ / gr*

The preposition ጸዐ / gr “between, among” designates distance between two points in space or time. The preposition has a whole range of variants, namely ፀዐ / jar, ፀዐ / ngr and ጸፀጸ / ingr.

ጸዐ ሀ፡ጵለሀ፤ተ ለ ጸርዐ፤ / gr wazdwit d imnsi	“between snack time and dinner”
ፀዐ ፎ.ፎ. ለ ፤፤ዐር / jar ṭaṭa d yiṽrm.	“between Tata and Ighrem”
ዐፀ ዐፀዘ ፡ ጸፀጸተሃ ! / ajj awal a ingratny !	“keep this conversation between us!”

### *k. The preposition 𐤀𐤍 / 𐤀𐤌 - al / ar*

The preposition 𐤀𐤍 / 𐤀𐤌 - al / ar “till, until” designates time and space limits. This preposition exhibits an important peculiarity in the sense that the noun that follows it does not take the construct state marker.

𐤅𐤋𐤀 𐤀𐤌 𐤀𐤊𐤌𐤊𐤌. / idda ar amzmiz.	“He went to Amzmiz.”
𐤌𐤕 𐤔𐤅𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤍 𐤅𐤀𐤒𐤌 /zg yixf al iḏarn	“from head to toe”
𐤀𐤌 𐤕𐤀𐤋𐤋𐤅𐤕𐤕 / ar tamddit	“till the evening”
𐤀𐤍 𐤋𐤀 / al da	“(till) here”

### *l. The preposition 𐤀𐤍𐤀 / bla*

The preposition 𐤀𐤍𐤀 / bla “without” denotes absence, lack, exclusion or deprivation. Not unlike 𐤀𐤍 / 𐤀𐤌 - al / ar, 𐤀𐤍𐤀 / bla does not require the noun that comes after it to take the construct state inflectional marker.

𐤋𐤀 𐤅𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤍𐤀 𐤀𐤊𐤀. / da itḥḥaf bla aman.	“He shaves without using water. (He is clever)”
𐤅𐤋𐤀 𐤋 𐤀𐤍𐤀 𐤅𐤕𐤀𐤕𐤅. / idda d bla iqaridn.	“He came with no money on him.”

## **2. Complex prepositions**

This sort of prepositions is made up of two or three conjoined prepositions, one of which has an adverbial function. More often than not, the preposition 𐤌 / n or 𐤅 / i follows the preposition that has an adverbial function. There are, nonetheless, a host of other situations where the adverbial preposition is preceded by other prepositions such as the locative 𐤕 / 𐤕 // g / 𐤕, the directional 𐤓 / s or the spatio-temporal 𐤌𐤕 / zg.

𐤌𐤋𐤀𐤕 / 𐤅 // zdat n / i	“in front of”
𐤀𐤊𐤅𐤋 𐤌, 𐤕𐤀𐤅𐤍𐤀 𐤌 // amnid n, tanila n	“opposite”
𐤌𐤅𐤕 𐤌, 𐤀𐤕𐤍𐤀 𐤌, 𐤅𐤕𐤕𐤅 𐤌 // nnig n, affla n, iggi n	“on, over, above”
𐤅𐤌𐤀𐤌 / 𐤌 / izdar n	“under”
𐤀𐤒𐤒𐤀 𐤌 / bḥra n	“outside”
𐤅𐤀𐤒𐤀𐤕 / 𐤕 / ḏarat n	“behind”

ጸ ተ.ፎ.   / g tama n	“near, next to”
ፀ ሁ.ለ.ላ.ዕ.ጸ /   // s wadday i / n	“under”
ፀ ለ.፤.ጸ / s nnj i	“on, over”
ጸጸ ለዘዘ.ዐ, ጸጸ ለዘዘጸዐ // zi dffar, zi dffir	“behind”
ኃዐ ፀ / ሃr s	“towards”
ፀ ለ.ዐ / s dar	“at someone’s house”

፲፯፻፭ ለዘዘጸዐ   ተፀኃ.ዐተ. / nqqim dffir n tsyart.	“We sat behind the tree.”
፻፹፬ ጸላተ   ተ.ለ.ለ.ዐተ. / illa zdat n taddart.	“He is in front of the house.”
ጸጸ፤   ተ.ሁ.ሁ.ፀተ ጸላተ ጸ ተጸጸጸዐተ. / ggin tawwurt zdat i tgzirt.	“They put the door opposite the island.”
፻፹፬ ር፤፤   ፀኃፀ.፹. / illa mnid n uybalu.	“He is in front of the well.”
ፀፀፀፀኃ ተ ለ.ጸ   ተ.ጸፀ. / ssrsy t nnag n tnakṛa.	“I put it on the mat.”

### 3. The morphology of prepositions

Depending on the context where it appears, a preposition can take a broad range of forms. Of prime importance among the contexts of use of prepositions, we mention the following.

#### 3.1. A preposition followed by a noun or a free pronoun

Before any nominal (noun, free pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, possessive pronoun), the preposition surfaces unscathed. Often, the noun that follows the preposition takes the construct state form (*cf.* 3.1.3.). The only exceptions that hold are the prepositions ላ / al “till, until” and ፀ፹ / bla “without” which are followed by nouns in the free state form.

ለጸ ተ.ፎ.ዐተ / di + tamurt	→	ለጸ ተ.ፎ.ዐተ / di tmurt	“in the country”
ፀ ተ.፹.ፀ / s + afus	→	ፀ ፹.፹.ፀ / s ufus	“with the hand”
ለ ተ.፭.ለ.ለ.ጸጸ፹ / d + amddakk <sup>w</sup> l	→	ለ ፹.፭.ለ.ለ.ጸጸ፹ / d umddakk <sup>w</sup> l	“with the friend”





**Table 1: ordinary prepositions and context of use**

<i>Context Preposition</i>	<i>Before a noun</i>	<i>Before an affixal pron.<sup>10</sup></i>
l / n	l ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ / n waman	llʈ / ʂlʈ // nns / ins
ʂ / i	ʂ ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ / i tfruxt	ʈ.ʈ / as
ʂ (ʈ) / g (ʈ)	ʂ ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ / g ubrid	ʂʂʈ / ʂʂʂʈ // gis / digs
ʈ / s	ʈ ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ / s ufus	ʈʂʈ, ʈʈʈ // sis, srs
ʂʈ (ʂ) / xf (x)	ʂʈ ʂʂʂʈ / xf yixf	ʂ.ʈʈ / ʈʂʈʈ // xafs / ʈifs
ʈ / f	ʈ ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ / f uyɾab	ʈʈʈ.ʈ / flas
ʈ / d	ʈ ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ / d uslmad	ʈʂʈ / ʈʂʈʈ // dis / dids
ʈʂ / di	ʈʂ ʂʂʂ.ʈ.ʈ / dg uxxam	ʈʂʂʈ / ʈ.ʂʈ // digs / dags
ʂʂ (ʂʂ, ʈʂ) / xg (zi, sg)	ʂʂ ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ / zg udrar	ʂʂʂʂʈ / ʂʂ.ʂʈ // zzigs / zzags
ʈ.ʂʈ / ʈ.ʂ // agd / ag	ʈ.ʂʈ ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ / agd urba	ʈʂʂʈʈ / ʈ.ʂʂʈʈ // akids / agids
ʈʈ / ʈr	ʈʈ ʂ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ / ʈr uzayar	ʈ.ʈʈ / ʈ.ʈʈʈ / ʈʂʈʈʈ // ʈars / ʈurs / ʈirs
ʈ.ʈ / dar	ʈ.ʈ ʂʂʂʈ.ʈ.ʈ / dar ʈmmu	ʈ.ʈʈ / dars
ʂʈ (ʂʈ, ʈ.ʈ) / gr (ngr, jar)	ʂʈ ʂʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ / gr isaffn	ʂʈ.ʈʈ / gratsn
ʈ / ʈ.ʈ // al / ar	ʈ ʈʂʂʂʂ / al figig	Never before an affixal pronoun
ʈ.ʈ / bla	ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ / bla aqrab	Never before an affixal pronoun

#### 4. Prepositions and their semantic values

The semantic value of a preposition ensues, in large measure, from the elements that surround it, i.e. the verb and the object of the preposition. This

10- To make things easy for the reader, the examples are given in the third person singular.

is why some prepositions are polysemic, as is illustrated in the following examples:

ᲙᲗᲗᲐ ᲐᲗᲗ ᲠᲚᲚᲗᲠ. / idda agd tsrwit.	“He went early in the morning.”
ᲙᲗᲗᲐ ᲐᲗᲗ ᲠᲗᲠᲚᲐᲚ. / idda agd ultmas.	“He went with his sister.”

The meaning of some prepositions is, nonetheless, relatively stable and easily identifiable. Of the different semantic values that prepositions have, we may well mention the following:

- Attribution: Კ / i
- Location: Თ / Რ // g / Ს, ᲗᲗ / zg, ᲗᲙ / di, ᲠᲚᲚ / yr, ᲗᲗ / xf, ᲐᲚᲚ / ar
- Direction: ᲚᲚ / s, ᲠᲚᲚ / yr, ᲗᲐᲚᲚ / dar
- Time: Თ / Რ // g / Ს, ᲐᲚᲚ / ar, ᲗᲙ / di
- Instrument: ᲚᲚ / s
- Possession and belonging: Თ / n
- Accompaniment: ᲗᲚᲚ / d, ᲐᲗᲗ / ᲐᲗᲗ // agd / akd

## 5. Prepositional phrase

The prepositional phrase is any phrase which consists of a preposition followed by a noun phrase or any equivalent nominal (independent pronouns as well as affixal, demonstrative, indefinite and possessive pronouns).

Prep. + noun	ᲚᲚ ᲠᲗᲚᲚᲚᲚ / s ufus	“with the hand”
Prep. + indep. pron.	ᲚᲚ ᲗᲠᲚᲚ / s ntta	“with / (thanks to) him”
Prep. + affixal pron.	ᲗᲐᲗᲙ / dagi	“in / on me”
Prep. + dem. pron.	ᲐᲚᲚ ᲠᲚᲚ / ar ta	“until (we reach) this one”
Prep. + numeral	ᲚᲚ ᲗᲚᲚᲚ / s kᲗᲗ	“by three”
Prep. + poss. pron.	ᲐᲗᲗ ᲗᲙᲗᲚᲚ / agd winu	“with mine (plr.)”

## 5.1. The object of a preposition

The object of a preposition can either be a noun or an affixal pronoun (see 6.3.1 and 6.3.2). More often than not, the object of a preposition takes the construct state form; the only exception that stands in fundamental conflict with this rule is the case of the two prepositions օֹ / ar and Թևֹ / bla, which are always followed by a noun in the free state form.

Կօ քօքֹւ / yr uxxam	“to the house” (CS.)
Ծ քօքֹւ / s ufus	“with the hand” (CS.)
Խ քօքֹւ / f uyrah	“on the wall” (CS.)
Թևֹ քօքֹւ / bla aqrab	“without the bag”
օֹ օֹ / ar anu	“until the well (is reached)”

The preposition along with its object make up the prepositional phrase. Depending on the preposition used, the prepositional phrase may well function as a noun complement, an indirect object complement or an adverbial phrase.

Let it be noted that the role of affixal pronouns is to substitute the nouns or phrases governed by the preposition. To the exception of քօ / i which blends with indirect object pronouns (*cf.* 4.1.2.b), all the other prepositions are compatible with the putative (preposition + affixal personal pronoun) paradigm addressed in (4.1.2.d).

## 5.2. The syntactic function of a prepositional phrase

The function of a prepositional phrase depends on the relationship that it has with other constituents of the sentence as well as on the type of preposition used. Among these functions, we may well distinguish between:

- a. Indirect object
- b. Noun complement
- c. Adverb phrase

### *a. Prepositional phrase as an indirect object*

The prepositional phrase assumes the function of an indirect object when it is part of a verbal phrase and it is introduced by the preposition քօ / i along with its object. The prepositional phrase can be reduced to a linked structure

made up of a preposition and an affixal pronoun; the linked structure has the function of an indirect object of the verb.

◌ⵓⵔ ⵜⵓⴓⵓⵜ ⵓⴰ ⵍ ⴓⵓⴓⵓⵔ ! / awy tabrat ad i babak!	“Take this letter to your father!”
◌ⵓⵔ ◌ⵓ ⵜⵜ ! / awy as tt !	“Take it to him!”

Prepositional phrases that function as indirect objects consist of the preposition  $\xi$  / i along with:

- a noun:

◌ⴰ ⵍⵓⵔⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⵍ ⵏ ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ ! / ad isiwl i memmis ! “That he talks to his son!”

- an independent pronoun:

ⵍⵓⵔⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⵍ ⵏ ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⵍ ⵏ ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ !  
iwca iqarɪɖ n ntta ur d i kyyi.  
“He gave the money to him not to you.”

- an affixal pronoun:

ⴰⵏ ⵍⵓⵔⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ . / ddiɣ yurs. “I was at his house.”

- a demonstrative pronoun:

ⵍⵓⵔⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⵍ ⵏ ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ ! / ini t i winn ! “Tell it to that one.”

- an indefinite pronoun:

ⵜⵓⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⵍ ⵏ ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ . / tnnam t i kra. “You told it to someone.”

- a possessive pronoun:

ⵍⵓⵔⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⵍ ⵏ ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ . / inna t i winnk. “He told it to yours (to your friends).”

### ***b. Prepositional phrase as a noun complement***

The noun complement consists of the genitive preposition  $l$  / n followed by one of the following elements:

- a noun:

ⵍⵏ ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⵍ ⵏ ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ / imi n taddart	“the door of the house”
ⵍⵏ ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⵍ ⵏ ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵙ / ttajin n islman	“a fish tajine”

- an adverb:

ር፪ለለ፤ ፡፳፻፯ / middn n zik	“our ancestors”
፡ር፡ለለ፡ ፡፻፲፡፳ / amuddu n imal	“The trip of next year”

- an affixal pronoun:

፡፻፻፻፻ ፡፻፻ / ayyis nns	“his horse”
፻፻፻ ፡፻፻ / ix፻ nns	“his head”

After the preposition ፤ / n, personal affixes take special forms (*cf.* 4.1.2.c).

### c. Prepositional phrase as an adverb phrase

The prepositional phrase may assume the function of an adverbial phrase if it is introduced by prepositions other than ፻ / i “to” and ፤ / n “of” (*cf.* 6.1 and 6.2). The adverb phrase may express diverse semantic values, such as:

- time:

፳፡ ፻፻፻፡፱ ፡፻፲፻ ፻ ፡፻፻፻፡. / “Snow falls in winter.”  
la iṭṭar uḍfl g tgrst.

- location:

፻ለ፡ ፡፻፻፻፡. / idda s tinml.	“He went to school.”
፻ ፡፻፻፻፻ ፻፻ ፡፻፻፻፻ ፡. / g aksum x፻ tmssi !	“Put the meat on the fire!”
፻፻፻ ፡፻ ፡፻፻ ፻፻፻፻፻. / yus d zi ssuq !	“He came back from the souk.”
፻ለ፡ ፡፻ ፡፻፻ ፻፻፻፻፻. / idda d sg imny፻.	“He has returned from the fight.”

- means:

፻፻፻፻፻ ፡፻፻፻፻፻. / ixddm s “He is working with his own  
ufus. hands.”

- cause:

፻፻፻፻፻ ፡፻፻፻፻፻፻. / immut “She is dying of cold.”  
s u፻mmi፻.

- manner:

ᲡᲗᲗᲗ Თ Ლ ᲛᲗᲗᲗ. / idda d s trwla.	“He came running.”
ᲡᲗᲗᲗ Ლ ᲛᲗᲗᲗ. / iffɣ s tazza.	“He went out running.”

- accompaniment:

ᲡᲗᲗᲗ ᲗᲗ ᲗᲗ. / imun ag wa.	“He came with this one.”
ᲡᲗᲗᲗ ᲗᲗ ᲗᲗᲗᲗ. / icca ag umas.	“He ate with his brother.”

## The adverb

ΣΧΙ ΞΕΡΡ. / ign zikk.	“He slept early.”
οΟ +Θ.Π.ΜΕ οΕΕ.Θ. / ar tsawalm attaş.	“You speak a lot.”

Adverbs serve a variety of symantic values such as place, time, quality and manner.

The paradigm of adverbs of place is set out as follows:

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| ◦⊙◦† ◯ / ◯◦◯◦ ! // awrat da / daha ! | “Come here!”                               |
| ⊘⊘⊘⊘ ◯◯◯◯ ! / qqim dihin !           | “Stay there!”                              |
| ⊘◯ ◯◯⊘ ? / wi dinn ?                 | “Who is there?”                            |
| ⊘◯ ◯◯⊘◯ ? / wi dinni ?               | “Who is there<br>(the place in question)?” |
| ◯◯⊘ ◯◦◯◯ / dinn yars                 | “There, at his house”                      |
| ◯◯◯ ◯ ◯◯⊘. / ddu s yinn.             | “Go there!”                                |

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Conversely, the adverb **ሃኗ** / *yi* may be followed by all orientation particles. It can be followed by the proximity particle **ለ** / *d* (**ሃኗለ** / *yid* “by here”), the remoteness particle **ዘ** / *nn* (**ሃኗዘ** / *yinn* “there”) as well as by the absence particle **ዘዘኗ** / *lli* (**ሃኗዘዘኗ** / *yilli* “the place in question”).

- **ለዘዘኗ** / *dffir*, **ደ.ባ.ደ** / *ፋፋፋ*, **ተጀግሮኗ** / *tikrmin* “behind”

<b>ፈፈር ሃዐ ለዘዘኗ !</b> / <i>qqim yr dffir !</i>	“Stay behind.”
<b>ዐ ጸጸጸጸጸጸ ደ.ባ.ተ.</b> / <i>ar izzigiz ፋፋፋ</i> .	“He walks backwards.”

- **ኗዐ** / *iwra* “here”

**ዐዐ. ዐዐ. !** / *awra awra* “Come here!”

- **ጸላተ** / *zdat* “in front of”

**ጸጸተ ሃዐ ጸላተ.** / *ugurt yar zdat.* “Go ahead.”

- **ፀፀ.** / *ssa*, **ፀፀኛ.** / *ssya*, **ፀ ሃኗ** / *s yi*, **ፀፀ.፲ኛ.** / *ssanita* “by here, from here”

<b>ጸፈ ፀፀ. ሃ. ተዐረር ...</b> / <i>xmi ssa ya trahm ...</i>	“when you depart from here”
<b>ጸዐ፲ ፀ ሃኗ.</b> / <i>zrin s yi.</i>	“They passed by here.”
<b>ጸጸ.፲ ፀፀኛ.</b> / <i>kkan ssya.</i>	“They passed by here.”

The adverb **ፀፀኛ** / *ssya* can be followed by the remoteness particle **ዘ** / *nn*, bringing about the forms **ፀፀኗ** / **ፀፀኗ** - *ssyn* / *ssin* “by there”.

<b>ኗጸጸ. ኗኗ ለ ተዐዐተ ፀፀኗ.</b> / <i>iskka iyi d tabrat ssin.</i>	“He sent me a letter (from there)”
<b>ኗጸጸ. ፀፀኗ.</b> / <i>ikka ssin.</i>	“He passed by there.”

- **ለላዐ** / *ddaw*, **ፀ ዐለላኛ** / *s wadday*, **ኗጸለላዐ** / *izddar* “down, below”

<b>ሃዐ ለላዐ</b> / <i>yr ddaw</i>	“downwards”
<b>ፀዐ. ፀ ዐለላኛ !</b> / <i>hwa s wadday !</i>	“Go downwards!”
<b>ጸፀ ኗጸለላዐ !</b> / <i>zr izddar !</i>	“Look downwards!”

- **ፀፀፀ.** / *brra* “outside”

**ዘዘሃ ፀፀፀ. !** / *ffy brra !* “Go out!”



- 𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎵 / agʷns, 𐎠𐎵 / jaj, 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 / ammas “inside”

𐎲𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵, 𐎵𐎵 𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵. 𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵. / r̥raht, ur ttufiy la jaj la b̥ra.	“I can’t find tranquility neither at home nor outside.”
𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵 ! / izir g wammas !	“Search inside!”

- 𐎠𐎵𐎵 / nican “straightforward, straight ahead, right”

𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵. / ddu nican.	“Go straight ahead.”
𐎶𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵. / ȳark lhq nican.	“You are right.”

When the question has to do with place or location, we use the interrogative adverb 𐎵𐎵𐎵 / mani “where”.

𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵 ? / mani iqqim ?	“Where is he sitting?”
𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵 ? / mani tlid ?	“Where are you?”
𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵 ? / mani llant t̥njirin ?	“Where are the girls?”

When the question bears on a prepositional phrase that has the function of an adverb of time, the interrogative 𐎵𐎵𐎵 / mani can be followed by a preposition (𐎶𐎵 / ȳr, 𐎵𐎵 / zi, 𐎵 / s, 𐎠𐎵 (𐎶) / g (ȳ)).

𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎵𐎵𐎵 ? / mani ȳr idda ?	“Where did he go?”
𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎵 𐎵𐎵𐎵 ? / mani s idda ?	“Where did he go?”
𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵 ? / mani g illa ubrid ?	“Where is the way?”
𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 ? / mani zg d yusa?	“Where did he come from?”

## 2. Time adverbs

Time adverbs are, in the most majority, of nominal origin.

- 𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵) / ass a (ȳ ass a) “today”

𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵 / yiwḏ ass a.	“He has arrived today.”
𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵 / ȳriȳ t ass a.	“I have seen him today.”

The adverb ᠋ᠠᠰᠠ / ass a may well be combined with the deictics of proximity (᠋ᠠ / d), remoteness (᠋ᠠᠨ / nn) or reference (᠋ᠠᠨᠠᠭ / lli), bringing about the following forms: ᠋ᠠᠰᠠ ᠋ᠠ / ass ad “today”, ᠋ᠠᠰᠠ ᠋ᠠᠨ / ass nn “that day”, ᠋ᠠᠰᠠ ᠋ᠠᠨᠠᠭ (᠋ᠠᠰᠠ ᠋ᠠᠨᠠᠭ) / ass lli (᠋ᠠᠰᠠ ᠋ᠠᠨᠠᠭ) “the day in question”.

- ᠋ᠠᠵᠠᠭᠠ (᠋ᠠᠵᠠᠭᠠ) / azkka (askka), ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠴᠠ / tiwcca “tomorrow”

᠋ᠠ ᠋ᠠ ᠋ᠠᠵᠠᠶᠢᠴᠠ. / ad d nas tiwcca.	“We shall come tomorrow.”
᠋ᠠ ᠋ᠠᠵᠠᠶᠢᠴᠠᠵᠠᠶᠢᠴᠠ ᠋ᠠᠵᠠᠶᠢᠴᠠ ! / ad ur tmmuddum askka !	“Do not travel tomorrow.”

- ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / idnnaṭ, ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / idgam “yesterday”, ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / idlli “yesterday night”, ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / assnnaṭ “yesterday during the day”

᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ. / igga urar idnnaṭ.	“He celebrated his marriage yesterday.”
᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ. / nṣṣa gmak assnnaṭ.	“We saw your brother yesterday.”

- ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / assfann, ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / nafidgam, ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / asslid, ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / friḍnnaṭ, ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / asnig n wassnnaṭ “the day before yesterday”

᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ. / “I bought them the day before yesterday.”  
᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ.

- ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / nafuzkka, ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / nafazn, ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / dfr tiwcca, ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / farwicca, ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / asnig n wazkka “after tomorrow”

᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ. / qqlat ar nafuzkka.	“Wait till the day after tomorrow.”
᠋ᠠ ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ. / ad raḥn farwicca.	“They will leave the day after tomorrow.”

- ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / ndaḍana, ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / nnaḍant, ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / azzyat, ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ / asgg<sup>w</sup>asnnaṭ “last year”

᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ. / ndaḍana, ur mmuddiy.	“I did not travel last year.”
᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ ᠋ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠ. / yiwl azzyat.	“He got married last year.”

- **ወደፊት / ልዩነን, ዘወትር / farwazyat** “two years ago”

ወደፊት, ዓመት ስለሆነው፡፡ /  
ልዩነን, ሆኖ ስለሆነው፡፡

“It has not rained for the  
last two years.”

- **የደረሰ / ስለሆነ, ስለሆነ / mneac** “next year”

ለ ገጽ ስለሆነ ስለሆነ የደረሰ / ad ገጽ arawn nnsn imal.	“They will see their children next year.”
ይዩክ ተሳታፊ ስለሆነ / ጥፋት ጥፋት ስለሆነ!	“Keep it till next year.”

- **ተኋኋሪ / ተኋኋሪ - tigira / tingira** “after”

ወደ ተኋኋሪ ተለጋግጥ / ar tigira  
tdum.

“You will go after.”

- **ገደብ / zik, ሁለት / wahwa** “early, formerly, long ago”

ገደብ ገደብ / ffyn zik.

“They left early.”

- **ጸደቀ / g yid, ሆኖ ተለጋግጥ / ሆኖ tmddit** “at night”

ለሆነ የጸደቀ ሆኖ ተለጋግጥ / ddan inbgiwn ሆኖ tmddit.	“The guests went at night.”
የሆነው ዓመት ጸደቀ / iwwt unጋጥ g yid.	“It rained at night.”

- **ፀላላ / bdda** “always, all the time”

ሆኖ ፀላላ ይፀላላ / la bdda idጃጃ.

“He always smiles.”

- **ሂሳብ / ሂሳብ, ሂሳብ / dyi, ሁሉ / wasa, ሂሳብ / dyikk, ሂሳብ / lxtu, ሂሳብ / ruxa, ሂሳብ / ilqqu** “now”

ሁሉ ሁሉ የሂሳብ ሂሳብ / awi ay d imkli ሂሳብ.	“Bring us lunch now.”
ሂሳብ የሂሳብ ሂሳብ ሂሳብ / smun imassn nnk ruxa.	“Pick up your things, now.”
ሂሳብ ሁሉ ! / ddu wasa	“Go right now!”

When the question bears on a temporal prepositional phrase, the interrogative adverbs that are used are set out as follows:

- **᠘ᠣ᠎ᠠ᠋ᠰᠤ** / manag<sup>w</sup>, **ᠮᠢᠮᠢ** / mlmi, **᠘ᠣᠤᠲᠢᠰᠤ** / man tizi “when”

᠘ᠣ᠎ᠠ᠋ᠰᠤ ᠣᠨᠠ ᠠᠠᠯᠢᠲᠤ ? / manag <sup>w</sup> rad ddunt ?	“When will they go?”
ᠮᠢᠮᠢ ᠶ᠋ᠠ ᠳᠤᠰᠤ ? / mlmi ya d tas ?	“When will she come ?”
᠘ᠤᠮᠢᠮᠢ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠫᠠᠭᠠᠨ ? / milmi ay ffyn ?	“When did they go out?”

### 3. Adverbs of quantity

- **ᠠᠯᠠᠭᠤᠳᠤ** / drus, **ᠶᠤᠵᠢᠵᠢ** / imikk, **ᠶᠤᠵᠢᠵᠢ** / imiqq, **ᠴᠠᠭᠤᠲᠤ** / cwayt, **ᠴᠠᠭᠤ** / cwi “a little”

ᠶᠤᠵᠢᠵᠢ ᠠᠯᠠᠭᠤᠳᠤ. / yuzzl drus.	“He did not run much.”
ᠬᠢ ᠶᠢᠵᠢ ᠶᠤᠳᠤ ᠶᠢᠵᠢᠵᠢ ! / fk iyi yas imiqq.	“Give me just a little!”
ᠶᠢᠫᠠ ᠴᠠᠭᠤᠲᠤ. / yiwca as cwayt.	“He gave him / her a little.”

- **ᠬᠢᠭᠠᠨ** / kigan, **ᠠᠲᠤᠰᠤ** / aṭṭaṣ, **ᠪᠠᠬᠤᠷᠠ** / bahra, **ᠪᠵᠠᠭᠠ** / bzzaf “a lot, many”

ᠶᠢᠲᠤ ᠵᠢᠮᠤᠨ ᠬᠢᠭᠠᠨ. / iwt unṣar kigan.	“It rained a lot.”
ᠠᠵᠠᠭᠠ ᠲᠤᠰᠠᠭᠠᠮ ᠠᠲᠤᠰᠤ. / aqqa tssawalm aṭṭaṣ.	“You talk a lot.”
ᠶᠢᠴᠠ ᠪᠠᠬᠤᠷᠠ. / icca bahra.	“He ate a lot.”
ᠶᠤᠵᠢᠵᠢ ᠪᠵᠠᠭᠠ. / yuzzl bzzaf	“He ran a lot.”

- **ᠠᠬᠠ** / akk<sup>w</sup>, **ᠵᠠᠭᠠᠬᠤ** (ᠵᠠᠭᠠᠭᠤ), **ᠬᠤᠯᠤᠯᠤ** / kullu, **ᠮᠠᠷᠢᠭᠠ** “all, everything”

ᠵᠢᠷᠢᠶᠤ ᠲᠠᠨ ᠠᠬᠠ. / zṛiy tn akk <sup>w</sup> .	“I saw all of them.”
ᠶᠢᠪᠪᠢ ᠵᠠᠭᠠ ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠ ᠶᠤᠫᠠ. / ibbi qaḥ aynna yufa.	“He tore all what he found.”
ᠬᠤᠴᠢᠨ ᠴᠢᠨ, ᠬᠤᠴᠢᠨ ᠴᠢᠨ. / marṛa ccin, marṛa swin.	“They ate and drank everything.”

If used in a negative sentence, **ᠠᠬᠠ** / akk<sup>w</sup> means “nothing, not at all, not even” and **ᠵᠠᠭᠠᠬᠤ** / qqaḥ “not ... at all”.





## CHAPTER 8

### Simple sentence

#### 1. Affirmative sentence

The affirmative sentence is the simplest sentence in Amazigh grammar. The other forms, i.e. the negative, interrogative and exclamative sentences, are but modified forms of the simple sentence. Depending on the presence or absence of verbal predicates, a simple sentence is either verbal or non-verbal.

##### 1.1. Verbal sentence

###### a. Constituents

Besides the main elements that are mandatory for making up a minimal or basic verbal sentence (i.e. the verbal stem and the person markers (*cf.* 5.1)), the basic verbal sentence may well be expanded by adding other constituents that have different syntactic functions. Paramount among these constituents, there are:

- *Lexical subject:*

ⵍⵓⵜ ⵓⵏⵓⵎⵓⵏ. / iwt udfɪ.	“It snowed.”
ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵏ ⵏⵓⵙⵓⵔ. / iffɣ ɰmmu	“Hemmou went out.”

- *Direct object:*

ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵔ ⵜⵓⵎⵓⵏⵓⵙ ⵏⵓⵙⵓⵔ. / tswa tslmya akffay.	“The baby drank milk.”
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- *Indirect object:*

ⵍⵓⵏⵓⵙ ⵏⵓⵙⵓⵔ ⵏ ⵙⵓⵔⵓⵔ.  
iwca adlis i gmas.  
“He gave the book to his brother.”

When these elements coexist in a single sentence, the canonical order is as follows:

## V + S + DO + IO + PP

ሰፀፀ፡፡፡፡፡፡ ሰፀፀ፡፡፡፡፡፡ ሰፀፀ፡፡፡፡፡፡ ሰፀፀ፡፡፡፡፡፡ ሰፀፀ፡፡፡፡፡፡ / ibda uslmad idlism xf inlmadn g tinml. “The teacher distributed the books to the pupils at school.”
ሰፀፀ፡፡፡፡፡፡ ሰፀፀ፡፡፡፡፡፡ ሰፀፀ፡፡፡፡፡፡ ሰፀፀ፡፡፡፡፡፡ ሰፀፀ፡፡፡፡፡፡ / ad isy hmmu tiggmmi i yillism imal. “Hemmou will buy a house to his daughter next year.”

### (i) Subject

The subject is placed either before or after the verb. When it is placed after the verb, it usually appears in the construct state (CS), a state that modifies the initial vowel of masculine nouns, as well as the vowel that appears after the first *፡* / *t* of the discontinuous circumfix *፡ ... (፡) / t ... (t)* in feminine nouns (cf. 3.1.3.b).

The function of the CS marker is of prime importance because it distinguishes the subject from the object (complement), the latter always holds in the free state (FS), as evinced in the following examples:

፡፡፡፡፡፡ ሰፀፀ፡፡፡፡፡፡ / icca uslm.	“The fish has eaten.”
፡፡፡፡፡፡ ሰፀፀ፡፡፡፡፡፡ / icca aslm.	“He ate the fish (one fish).”

When the subject is at the top of the sentence, it surfaces in the free state form.

፡፡፡፡፡፡ ፡፡፡፡፡፡፡፡ / afrux irwl.	“The boy fled.”
፡፡፡፡፡፡ ፡፡፡፡፡፡፡፡ / abrid yaggug.	“The way is long.”

Generally speaking, the function of a subject can be assumed by a variety of elements, such as:

- *A noun (kinship or ordinary noun):*

፡፡፡፡፡፡ ሰ፡፡፡፡፡፡፡፡ / yusi d unmaddu.	“The traveller came back.”
፡፡፡፡፡፡ ፡፡፡፡፡፡፡፡ / anmaddu yusi d.	“The traveller came back.”
፡፡፡፡፡፡ ፡፡፡፡፡፡፡፡ / iffɣ urba.	“The boy went out”
፡፡፡፡፡፡ ፡፡፡፡፡፡፡፡ / uma iffɣ.	“My brother went out.”

- *A quality noun:*

፡፡፡፡፡፡፡፡ ፡፡፡፡፡፡፡፡ / issiwl umqqran.	“The old man spoke.”
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◌Ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲙⲓ. / amqqrان issiwl.	“The old man spoke.”
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- *A free pronoun:*

ⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲙⲓ. / irahⲓ nttā.	“He went.”
ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲙⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲓ. / nttā irahⲓ.	“(He), he went.”

- *A demonstrative pronoun:*

ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲙⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲓ. / yusi d wann.	“He came, that one.”
ⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲙⲓ. / wann yusi d.	“That one came.”

- *An indefinite pronoun:*

ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲙⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲓ. / idda d ca n yidj.	“Someone came.”
ⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲙⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲓ. / ca n yidj idda d.	“Someone came.”

- *A possessive pronoun:*

ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲙⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲓ. / imqqr winu.	“Mine is big.”
ⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲙⲓ. / winu imqqr.	“Mine is big.”

- *A numeral:*

ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲙⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲓ. / ffynt snat.	“Two went out.”
ⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲙⲓ. / snat ffynt.	“Two went out.”

## (ii) Topic indicator

Some elements, usually postposed to the verb, are subject to topicalization. Put in another way, these elements are subject to movement to the head of the sentence, hence the name “topic indicator”. Their position at the head of the sentence is concomitant with a change in their primary function. Topicalized elements are always in the free state. Irrespective of their basic function (subject, direct object or indirect object), they are endorsed by affixal personal pronouns with which they agree in gender and number. In writing, a topic indicator is separated by a comma from the verb. Topicalization is one among a varied set of focalization processes in Amazigh.

In general terms, the function of a topic indicator can be carried out by the following categories:

- *A noun:*

◌ⲟⲩⲓⲙⲓ, ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲙⲓ. / argaz, iffy.	“The man, he went out.”
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᠋ᠣᠷᠭᠠᠵ, ᠋ᠢᠷᠭᠠᠵ ᠋ᠲᠤ. / argaz, zᠢᠷᠢᠭ ᠋ᠲᠤ.	“The man, I saw him.”
᠋ᠣᠷᠭᠠᠵ, ᠋ᠢᠷᠭᠠᠵ ᠋ᠲᠤ ᠋ᠠᠵᠠᠨᠨᠠᠷ. / argaz, fkiy as aᠵᠠᠨᠨᠠᠷ.	“The man, I have given him the Bournous.”

• *A quality noun:*

᠋ᠠᠶᠵᠵᠠᠰ, ᠋ᠢᠷᠭᠠᠵ ᠋ᠲᠤ. / ayzzaf, zᠢᠷᠢᠭ ᠋ᠲᠤ.	“The tall man, I saw him.”
᠋ᠠᠮᠴᠢᠷᠠᠨ, ᠋ᠠᠵᠠᠨ ᠋ᠠᠵ. / amqqrان, yriy as.	“The big man, I called him.”
᠋ᠠᠮᠵᠢᠶᠠᠨ, ᠋ᠢᠳᠳᠠ ᠋ᠠᠭ ᠋ᠠᠮᠠᠰ. / amzzyan, idda ag wumas.	“The young boy, He went with his brother.”

• *A numeral:*

᠋ᠰᠢᠨ ᠠᠨᠨ, ᠋ᠠᠨᠠᠨ ᠋ᠠᠨ. / sin ann, ddan d.	“Those two, they have come (here).”
᠋ᠰᠢᠨ ᠠᠨᠨ, ᠋ᠢᠷᠭᠠᠵ ᠋ᠲᠤ. / sin ann, zᠢᠷᠢᠭ ᠋ᠲᠤ.	“Those two, I have seen them.”
᠋ᠰᠢᠨ ᠠᠨᠨ, ᠋ᠢᠷᠭᠠᠵ ᠋ᠲᠤ ᠋ᠠᠵᠠᠨᠠᠳᠢᠰ. / sin ann, fkiy asn adlis.	“Those two, I have given them the book.”

• *An independent pronoun:*

᠋ᠠᠲᠤ, ᠋ᠰᠣᠭᠠᠨ. / nnta, irah.	“(He), he went.”
᠋ᠠᠲᠤ, ᠋ᠢᠷᠭᠠᠵ ᠋ᠲᠤ. / nnta, zᠢᠷᠢᠭ ᠋ᠲᠤ.	“(He), I saw him.”
᠋ᠠᠲᠤ, ᠋ᠢᠷᠭᠠᠵ ᠋ᠲᠤ ᠋ᠠᠵᠠᠨᠠᠳᠢᠰ. / nnta, uciy as tineacin.	“(He), I have given him the money.”
᠋ᠠᠲᠤ, ᠋ᠰᠣᠭᠠᠨ ᠋ᠠᠭ ᠋ᠠᠳᠠᠰ. / nnta, idda ag babas.	“(He), he went with his father.”

• *A demonstrative pronoun:*

᠋ᠠᠨᠨ, ᠋ᠰᠣᠭᠠᠨ. / wann, irah.	“(That one), he went.”
᠋ᠠᠨᠨ, ᠋ᠠᠨᠨ ᠋ᠠᠵᠠᠨᠠᠳᠢᠰ. / winn, mliy as abrid.	“(That one), I showed him the way.”
᠋ᠠᠨᠨᠢᠨ, ᠋ᠢᠷᠭᠠᠵ ᠋ᠲᠤ ᠋ᠠᠵᠠᠨᠠᠳᠢᠰ. / winin, uciy asn tammemt.	“(Those ones), I have given them honey.”

ተ.፡, ተለሌ. ፡ጸ ተርለሌጦጽዝተ ስፀ / tan, tdda ag tmddak <sup>w</sup> lt nns.	“(This one), she went with her friend.
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- *A possessive pronoun:*

ሀ፤፡, ፤ርጹጹ፤. / winu, imzzi.	“Mine is small.”
ሀ፤፡፡, ጹፀ፤ሃ ተ. / winsn, zriy t.	“Theirs, I have seen it.”
ሀ፤፡፡, ፡፡፡፤ሀሃ ፡፡. / winsn, ssiwly as.	“Theirs, I have talked to him.”

(iii) *Direct object*

The direct object comes immediately after the verb in a minimal sentence (i.e. a sentence without a lexical subject), or after the lexical subject in an expanded sentence. The direct object is always in the free state.

፤ፀሃ. ፡ዘር.ለ ፡ለዘ፤፡. / isya unlmaḍ adlis.	“The boy has bought a book.”
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The direct object can be replaced by an affixal pronoun with the same function. When the direct object is replaced by a pronoun, the pronoun appears immediately after the verb and before the lexical subject (if there is one) provided that no pronoun-attracting preverbal element holds in the sentence, i.e. elements, like (፡፡ / ur, ፡ለ / ad, ፤፡ / is ...), which require the pronoun to move to a position before the verb:

፤፡ሃ ተ ፡፡ርር፤፤. / yay t uşmmiḍ.	“He is cold.”
፡፡ ተ ፤፡ሃ ፡፡ርር፤፤. / ur t yay uşmmiḍ.	“He is not cold.”

In general terms, the direct object function can be assumed by:

- *A noun:*

፤፸ሃ. ተ፡ጼ፡፡፡. / isya taknarit.	“He bought prickly pears.”
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- *A numeral:*

፤፤፤፤ ጸፂ.፤ (፡) ፤፡፤፡. / ittf kṛaḍ (n) islman.	“He caught three fish.”
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- *A noun phrase:*

ᲥᲚᲙᲟ ᲙᲟ ᲥᲟᲙᲚᲙᲟᲗᲗ ᲙᲟ ᲥᲙᲟᲗᲟ. /  
iwca as islman n uyẓr.

“He gave him river fish.”

- *A quality noun:*

ᲥᲙᲟᲗᲟ ᲙᲟ ᲥᲟᲗᲟᲗᲟ. /  
izṛa axatar.

“He saw the big one.”

- *An affixal pronoun:*

ᲥᲟᲟᲥ Თ. / ibbi t.

“He cut it.”

- *A demonstrative pronoun:*

ᲥᲗᲙᲟ ᲗᲟ. / iela wa.

“He saw this one.”

- *An indefinite pronoun:*

ᲥᲙᲟᲗᲟ ᲙᲟ ᲥᲥᲙᲙᲟ. /  
izṛa ca n yijj.

“He saw someone.”

- *A possessive pronoun or phrase:*

ᲥᲟᲟ ᲗᲥᲙᲟ. / ira winu.

“He wants mine.”

#### (iv) *Indirect object*

The indirect object is always introduced by the dative preposition Ქ / i “to”; it also surfaces in the construct state owing to the influence exercised by the preposition.

ᲥᲗᲙᲟ ᲙᲟ ᲥᲟᲙᲚᲙᲟᲗ ᲥᲙᲟᲗᲟ Ქ ᲥᲙᲚᲙᲟᲗᲗ. /  
ifka uslmad idlism i inlmadn.

“The teacher gave the books to pupils.”

The indirect object can be substituted by an affixal personal pronoun. The latter intervenes between the verb and the lexical subject, and the whole is followed by the direct object.

ᲥᲟᲟᲥ ᲙᲟ ᲥᲟᲙᲚᲙᲟᲗ ᲥᲙᲟᲗᲟ. /  
ibḡa asn uslmad idlism.

“The teacher distributed the books to them.”

When the direct and indirect pronominal objects coexist in the same sentence, it is the second that comes before the first:

ΞΘΕ. ∅ΘΛ.Λ ΞΛΗΞΘΙ Ξ ΞΛΛ.ΛΙ. / ibḍa uslmad idlīs i inlmadn.	“The teacher distributed the books to the students.”
ΞΘΕ. ∅ΘΙ ΗΙ ∅ΘΛ.Λ. / ibḍa asn tn uslmad.	“The teacher distributed them (the books) to them.”

### ***b. Agreement***

There are three types of agreement:

- Agreement between the subject and the verb;
- Agreement between the topic indicator and the verb;
- Agreement between the topic indicator and the endorsing affixal pronouns.

#### *(i) Agreement between the subject and the verb*

The verb agrees in gender, number and person with the lexical subject irrespective of its position relative to the verb, preposed or postposed.

ΞΗΗΥ ∅Θ. / iffṽ urba.	“The boy went out.”
∅Θ. ΞΗΗΥ. / arba iffṽ.	“The boy, he went out.”
†ΗΗΥ †Θ.†. / tffṽ trbat.	“The girl went out.”
†Θ.† †ΗΗΥ. / tarbat tffṽ.	“The girl, she went out”
ΗΗΥΙ ΞΛΙΞΟΙ. / ffṽn iḥnjirm.	“The boys went out.”
ΞΛΙΞΟΙ ΗΗΥΙ. // iḥnjirm ffṽn.	“The boys, they went out.”
ΗΗΥΙ† †ΞΞΟΟ.†ΞΙ. / ffṽnt tciiratin.	“The girls went out.”
†ΞΛΙΞΟΞΙ ΗΗΥΙ†. / tiḥnjirin ffṽnt.	“The girls, they went out.”

When the subject is a noun phrase, two scenarios are observed depending on whether the subject is postposed or preposed to the verb. If the subject is postposed to the verb, agreement in gender and number with the first element of the noun phrase is observed, as illustrated in the following examples:

ΞΟ.Λ ∅Θ. Λ †Θ.†. / iraḥ urba d trbat.	“The boy and the girl went.”
†Ο.Λ †Θ.† Λ ∅Θ. / traḥ trbat d urba.”	“The girl and the boy went.”
Ο.ΛΙ ΞΘ.Λ Λ †Θ.†ΞΙ. / raḥn irban d trbatin.	“The boys and the girls went.”
Ο.ΛΙ† †Θ.†ΞΙ Λ ΞΘ.Λ. / raḥnt trbatin d irban.	“The girls and the boys went.”

If the noun phrase is preposed to the verb, and if the nouns that make up the noun phrase are of different gender, the verb takes the masculine plural form:

፬፻፳፯ ለ ተርዩዩ፣ ለሌላ፡፡ / argaz d tmṭuḍt dḍan.	“The man and the woman went.”
ተርዩዩ፣ ለ ሃፂህ፡፡ ለሌላ፡፡ / tamṭuḍt d yiwiw dḍan.	“The woman and her son went.”

(ii) *Agreement between the topic indicator and the verb*

Agreement holds between the topic indicator and the verb if the moved element is the subject of the verb:

፬፻፳፯, ፻፬፻፳፯. / aḥrmuc, irah.	“The boy, he went.”
ተ፬፻፳፯, ተ፬፻፳፯. / taḥrmuct, traḥ.	“The girl, she went.”
፻፬፻፳፯, ፬፻፳፯. / iḥrmucn, raḥn.	“The boys, they went.”
ተ፻፬፻፳፯, ፬፻፳፯. / tiḥrmucin, raḥnt.	“The girls, they went.”

(iii) *Agreement between the topic indicator and the endorsing affixal pronouns*

When the topic indicator is a complement, it is endorsed by a direct object pronoun that has the same morphological features (the same gender, number and person of the topic indicator).

- *Agreement between the topic indicator and the direct object affixal pronouns*

፬፻፳፯, ፻፬፻፳፯. / ayyis, unniy t.	“The horse, I saw it.”
ተ፬፻፳፯, ፻፬፻፳፯. / tafruxt, zṛiy tt.	“The girl, I saw her.”
፻፬፻፳፯, ፻፬፻፳፯. / ilyman, zṛiy tn.	“The camels, I saw them.”
ተ፻፬፻፳፯, ፻፬፻፳፯. / timdyazin, zṛiy tnt.	“The singers, I saw them.”

- *Agreement between the topic indicator and the indirect object affixal pronouns*

ተ፬፻፳፯, ፻፬፻፳፯. ፻፬፻፳፯. / tarbat, uciy as ijgign.	“The girl, I have offered her flowers.”
፻፬፻፳፯, ፻፬፻፳፯. ፻፬፻፳፯. / imnayn, mliy asn abrid.	“The knights, I have shown them the way.”
፻፬፻፳፯, ፻፬፻፳፯. ፻፬፻፳፯. / istma, uciy asnt amur nnsnt.	“My sisters, I have given them their share.”

- Agreement between the topic indicator and the noun complement affixal pronouns

፫፬፻፲፱, ፬፬፻፲፱ ተ፬፬፻፲፱ ስ፬፻፲፱. / masin, ssny taddart nns.	“Massin, I know his house.”
ተ፬፻፲፱ ፬፬፻፲፱, ፬፬፻፲፱ ፬፬፻፲፱. / tarbat a, ssny ultmas.	“This girl, I know her sister.”
፻፫፬፻፲፱ ፬፬፻፲፱, ፬፬፻፲፱ ፻፫፬፻፲፱ ስ፬፻፲፱. / imnayn ad, ssny iyrm nnsn.	“These knights, I know their village.”
ተ፻፫፬፻፲፱ ፬፬፻፲፱, ፬፬፻፲፱ ፬፬፻፲፱ ተ፬፻፲፱. / tirbatin nna, ssny babatsnt.	“Those girls, I know their father.”

### c. Word order in the verbal sentence

The order of the constituents of the verbal sentence depends on the nature of the elements from which it is made. The elements can either be nouns or affixal personal pronouns; each scenario recognises a specific order. In general terms, the canonical order of a verbal sentence is as follows:

**V + S + DO + IO + Comp**

፻፫፬፻፲፱ ፻፫፬፻፲፱ ተ፬፻፲፱ ፻፫፬፻፲፱ ፬፬፻፲፱ ፬፬፻፲፱ ስ፬፻፲፱.  
isskk mimun tabrat i memmis ag umddakk<sup>wl</sup> nns.  
“Mimoun sent the letter to his son with his friend.”

If one of the complements is an affixal personal pronoun, and if the sentence does not contain any preverbal element (፻፬ / ur, ፬፬ / ad, ፬፬ / da, ...), the order is as follows:

**V + DO Pron + S + IO + Comp**

፻፫፬፻፲፱ ፻፫፬፻፲፱ ፻፫፬፻፲፱ ፬፬፻፲፱ ፬፬፻፲፱ ስ፬፻፲፱.  
isskk itt mimun i memmis ag umddakk<sup>wl</sup> nns.  
“Mimoun sent it to his son with his friend.”

**V + IO Pron + S + DO + Comp**

፻፫፬፻፲፱ ፬፬ ተ፻፫፬፻፲፱ ፬፬ ፬፬፻፲፱ ስ፬፻፲፱.  
isskk as tt mimun ag umddakk<sup>wl</sup> nns.  
“Mimoun sent the letter to him with his friend.”

### **V + IO Pron + DO Pron + S + Comp**

ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐ.

isskk as tt mimun ag umddakk<sup>wl</sup> nns.

“Mimoun sent it to him with his friend.”

If a sentence has one of the particles of attraction (ᵐᵐ / ur, ᵐᵐ / ad, ᵐᵐᵐ / is, ...), the customary order of constituents in the sentence changes, and the pronouns appear in a preverbal position. Hence, we obtain the following orders:

### **Part. + DO pron. + V + S + IO + Comp**

ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐ.

ur tt isskk mimun i memmis ag umddakk<sup>wl</sup> nns.

“Mimoun did not send it to his son with his friend.”

### **Part. + IO pron. + V + S + DO + Comp**

ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐ.

ur as issikk mimun tabrat ag umddakk<sup>wl</sup> nns.

“Mimoun did not send the letter to him with his friend.”

### **Part. + IO pron. + DO pron. + V + S + Comp**

ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐ.

ur as tt issikk mimun ag umddukl nns.

“Mimoun did not send it to him with his friend.”

Besides the canonical order *verb – subject – complement*, a composite of other orders are observed and are generally used to express emphasis. From the foregoing, it can be concluded that all constituents, to the exception of verbs, are able to fill the function of a topic indicator and be placed at the beginning of a sentence (*cf.* 8.1.1.a).

## **1.2. Non-verbal sentence**

A non-verbal sentence is dubbed so because it does not have a verb. Of the two main constituents that make up a non-verbal sentence, the predicate is obligatory whereas the subject is optional. Amazigh recognises a composite of various non-verbal sentences depending on the nature of the predicate and on the presence / absence of predication morphemes.



**a. Predicates introduced by the predication particle  $\Lambda$  / d**

The predication particle  $\Lambda$  / d “it is” is invariable, and the nominal predicate (or its equivalents, i.e. a quality noun, an independent pronoun, a numeral, etc.) that it introduces always takes the free state form:

$\Lambda$ օԸԼԷօՁ. / d amḥḍar.	“It is a student.”
$\Lambda$ ԺԸԿօՕԺ. / d tamṙart.	“It is a woman.”
$\Lambda$ օՃԽԽ“օԿ. / d azgg“ay.	“It is red.”
$\Lambda$ ՊԺԸօԾ. / d ultmas.	“It is his sister.”
$\Lambda$ ԼԺԺօԺ. / d nttat.	“It is her.”
$\Lambda$ Ժօ. / d ta	“It is this one (fem.).”
$\Lambda$ ԼօԼ. / d wad.	“It is this one (masc.).”
$\Lambda$ ԼԺՁԼօ. / d winu.	“It is mine.”

Preceded by the particle  $\Lambda$  / d, the nominal sentence expresses many semantic values, such as existence, introduction, identification and emphasis.

The subject of a nominal sentence is placed at the head of the sentence:

ԼԸԸօ $\Lambda$ օԸԼԷօՁ. / ḥmmu d amḥḍar.	“Hemmou is a student.”
$\Lambda$ օԼԼօԾ $\Lambda$ օԸԿօՕ. / daddas d amyār.	“His elder brother is the chief.”
ԺՁԸօ $\Lambda$ ԺօԸՃՃօԺ. / εica d tamzzyant.	“Aicha is the youngest.”

Non-verbal phrases introduced by  $\Lambda$  / d may contain the presenter morpheme  $\text{Զօ}$  / qa “here is”; this morpheme is realized also as  $\text{ԾօԶօ}$  / haqa:

$\text{Զօ}$ $\Lambda$ օԸԼԼօԸԸԸ“Պ ՁԼօ. / qa d amddakk“l inu.	“This is my friend.”
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**b. Predicates introduced by  $\text{Ծօ}$  / ha or  $\text{ԾօԶօ}$  / haqa**

The morpheme  $\text{Ծօ}$  / ha “here is” and its variant  $\text{ԾօԶօ}$  / haqa function in the same way as the predication particle  $\Lambda$  / d “it is”, in the sense that all of them introduce different types of predicates, such as nominals and their substitutes which all appear in the free state.

$\text{Ծօ}$ օՃՃՁԾ. / ha ayyis.	“Here is a horse.”
$\text{ԾօԶօ}$ օՃԽԽ“օԿ. / haqa azgg“ay.	“Here is the red one.”

⓪. Ⓛ. / ha wa.	“Here is this one.”
⓪. Ⓡ. ⓁⓇⓁⓇ. / haqa nkkni.	“Here we are.”
⓪. ⓇⓇ. Ⓡ+ (l) +⓪. Ⓡ+Ⓡ. / ha kṛaṭt (n) tbratin.	“Here are three letters”
⓪. †. / ha t.	“Here it is.”
⓪. †l. / ha tn.	“Here they are.”

### c. Predicates without introducing morphemes

There are various types of predicates that are devoid of any introducing morphemes. Among these predicates, we may well mention:

- *The prepositional phrase*

A preposition along with its affixal pronoun may well fill the role of a predicate and make up a non-verbal sentence with the noun phrase that follows:

ḡ. ⓪. Ⓡ. Ⓛ. / ḡurs lwacun.	“He / she has children.”
Ⓡ. ⓪. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. / dars iqarīḡn.	“He / she has money.”
ḡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. / ḡuri ijj n uḡnjir.	“I have a boy.”
Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. / dīgs aman.	“There is water inside.”

The morpheme Ⓡ. / qa “here is / there is”, which it is used in non-verbal structures with Ⓡ. / d, can also be used with prepositional predicates.

Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. /  
 qa dinni ict n tḡrast.  
 “A pear tree is there.”

- *An adverb*

Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. ! / bṛṛa !	“Outside!”
Ⓡ. / ḡ. / Ⓡ. Ⓡ. ? // da / ḡi / daha ?	“Here?”
Ⓡ. Ⓡ. / wasa.	“Now.”

- *A noun phrase specified or not by a complement*

ḡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. / ussan ad	“these days”
ḡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. / kul ijj s umur nns.	“Everyone has his own share.”
ḡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. Ⓡ. / ku yan s udlis nns.	“Each one has his own book.”

- *A comparative noun phrase*

ሠላም ስለሰላም ስለሰላም ስለሰላም / awal nnk am wawal nns.	“Your words are the same as his.”
ኔፍሴ ጽደቅ ለ ሰላም / Ittu zun d eli.	“Itto is like Ali.”

- *An interrogative structure*

ርዕሱ ሆነ ? / matta wa ?	“What is this ?”
ርዕሱ ሆነ ? / mayar ta ?	“Why this one?”
ርዕሱ ሆነ ? / mani wa ?	“Which one?”

## 2. Negative sentence

The negative sentence is either verbal or non-verbal. In both cases, it is characterised by the use of the morpheme of negation ስ / ur “not”.

### 2.1. Verbal negation

Under verbal negation, we mean a verbal sentence made up of a verb and the morpheme of negation ስ / ur “not”. The function of the morpheme ስ / ur is to deny and negate the process expressed by the predicate of the sentence, i.e. the verb. ስ / ur can either be used alone or accompanied with a second element of negation.

#### a. The morpheme ስ / ur

ስ / ur always holds in a preverbal position. It has a composite of variants, like ስ / u, which is a reduced form of ስ / ur (or ስ / ul), as well as ስ / wa and ስ / war.

In general terms, negation brings about some alterations on the perfective theme by introducing the vowel ኔ / i at the end of the verb or before the final consonant (cf. 5.1.3 c).

ስ ኔፍሴ ስላም / ur iswi aman.	“He did not drink water.”
ስ ኔፍሴ ስላም ስ / ur inni awal a.	“He did not say these words.”
ስ ኔፍሴ ጽደቅ ለ ሰላም / ur ikli g tgmimi.	“He did not spend the day at home.”





- 𐌲𐌺 ... 𐌶𐌺𐌰 (𐌶𐌺𐌰) / ur ... yas (xas), 𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰 (𐌰𐌶𐌰) / ur ... abla (bla) “no / nobody / nothing ... but”:

𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌰 𐌶𐌺𐌰 𐌰𐌺𐌰. / ur iddi yas ntta.	“Nobody left but him.”
𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌶𐌰. 𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌰. / ur nȝri abla iȝtu.	“We have not seen but Iȝto.”

- 𐌲𐌺 ... 𐌰𐌶𐌰 / ur ... amya, 𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰 / ur ... walu, 𐌲𐌺 ... 𐌶𐌺𐌰 / ur ... yat “not ... anything”, 𐌲𐌺 ... 𐌶𐌺𐌰 / 𐌰𐌶𐌰 // ur ... yan / ijj, 𐌲𐌺 ... 𐌶𐌶𐌰 / ur ... ȝdd “not ... anybody”

The above different negative forms are used when negation is partial. Put in another way, the forms are observed when negation bears on one of the constituents of the sentence that has a specific grammatical function.

𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌶𐌰. / ur issin amya.	“He does not know anything.”
𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌰𐌶𐌰. / ur nniȝ walu.	“I did not say anything.”
𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌰 𐌶𐌶𐌰. / ur iffiȝ ȝdd.	“Nobody went out.”
𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌰 𐌶𐌺𐌰. / ur isawl yan.	“Nobody spoke.”
𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌰 𐌶𐌺𐌰. / ur ȝrin yat.	“They did not see anything.”

Along with the negative forms 𐌲𐌺 ... 𐌶𐌺𐌰 (𐌰𐌶𐌰) / ur ... yan (ijj), it is possible to use the morphemes 𐌰𐌶 / ag, 𐌰𐌶𐌰 / awd, 𐌰𐌶𐌰 / ula and 𐌶𐌺𐌰 / ȝtta “even” which surface immediately before 𐌶𐌺𐌰 / yan and 𐌰𐌶𐌰 / ijj.

𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌰 𐌶𐌺𐌰. / ur iddi ȝtta yan.	“Nobody went.”
𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌶 𐌰𐌶𐌰. / ur d yusi ag ijj.	“Nobody came.”
𐌲𐌺 𐌶𐌶𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌰𐌶𐌰. / ur tt yumin ula ijj.	“Nobody believed her.”
𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌶𐌰. / ur isawl awd yan.	“Nobody spoke.”

The morphemes 𐌰𐌶 𐌰𐌶𐌰 / ag idj, 𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌶𐌺𐌰 / awd yan, 𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌰𐌶𐌰 / ula ijj and 𐌶𐌺𐌰 𐌶𐌺𐌰 / ȝtta yan can appear at the head of a sentence:

𐌰𐌶 𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌰. / ag idj ur d yusi.	“Nobody came.”
𐌶𐌺𐌰 𐌶𐌺𐌰 𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌰. / ȝtta yan ur iddi.	“Nobody went.”
𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌶𐌺𐌰 𐌲𐌺 𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌰𐌰. / awd yan ur issiwl.	“Nobody spoke.”
𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌲𐌺 𐌶𐌶𐌰𐌰. / ula ijj ur tt yumin.	“Nobody believed her.”

- // **ur ... kra / ur ... ca / ur ... ci** “*not ... anything*”

ᲞᲐ / kra, Პ / ca and ᲞᲗ / ci are indefinite morphemes that are used when negation is partial.

ᲞᲐ ᲞᲗᲗᲗ Პ / ur syin ca.	“They have not bought anything.”
ᲞᲐ ᲗᲗᲗ Პ / ur yufi ca.	“He has not found anything.”

- ᲞᲐ ... ᲞᲐ / **ur ... ula**, ᲞᲐ ... ᲞᲐ / **ur ... la ... la** “*neither ... nor*”

These morphemes are used when negation bears on a coordinate NP.

ᲞᲐᲗᲗ ᲗᲗᲗᲗ Თ ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ. / annayḡ ḡmmu d yidir.	“I saw Hemmou and Idir.”
ᲞᲐ ᲗᲗᲗᲗ ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ ᲞᲐ ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ. / ur yannay ḡmmu ula idir.	“He saw neither Hemmou nor Idir.”
ᲞᲐ ᲗᲗᲗ ᲗᲗᲗ ᲞᲐ ᲞᲐᲗᲗᲗ. / ur inni yah ula lawah.	“He said neither yes nor no.”
ᲞᲐ ᲗᲗᲗᲗ ᲞᲐ ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ ᲞᲐ ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ. / ur izri la taḡddut la bajju.	“He saw neither Tahddout nor Bajjou.”

- ᲞᲐ ... ᲞᲐ / **ur ... bu** “*not ... at all*”

The morpheme ᲞᲐ / ur can be followed by ᲞᲐ / bu (ᲞᲐ ... ᲞᲐ / ur ... bu) to express a semantic value of intensity missing in the form without ᲞᲐ.

ᲞᲐ ᲞᲗᲗᲗ ᲗᲗᲗᲗ. / ur syiy aḡil.	“I bought no grapes.”
ᲞᲐ ᲞᲗᲗᲗ ᲞᲐ ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ. / ur syiy bu waḡil /	“I have not bought any grapes.”
ᲞᲐ ᲗᲗᲗᲗ ᲞᲐ ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ. / ur umiḡn bu tmnayt.	“They received no money.”
ᲞᲐ ᲗᲗᲗᲗ ᲞᲐ ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ. / ur yurs bu uxxam.	“He does not have any house.”

The constituent that follows ᲞᲐ / bu takes the construct state form if it is a noun.

## 2.2. Non-verbal negation

A non-verbal negative sentence (*cf.* 8.1.2) is introduced by ᲞᲐ / ur “not” which comes right before the non-verbal predicate:

Λ ㊦Λᄡᆫ. / d amdyaz.	“He is a poet.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ㊦Λᄡᆫ. / ur d amdyaz.	“He is not a poet.”
Λ ㊦ᄡᆫᄡᆫᄡᆫ. / ur d amzzyan.	“It is the small one.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ㊦ᄡᆫᄡᆫᄡᆫ. / ur d amzzyan.	“It is not the small one.”
Λ ㊦ᄡᆫ. / d ntta.	“It is him.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ㊦ᄡᆫ. / ur d ntta.	“It is not him.”
ᄡᆫᄡᆫ ㊦Λᄡᆫ. / yurs andaz.	“He is lucky.”
ᄡᆫ ᄡᆫᄡᆫ ㊦Λᄡᆫ. / ur yurs andaz.	“He is not lucky.”
Λ ㊦. / d wa.	“It is this one.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ㊦. / ur d wa.	“It is not this one.”
Λ ㊦ᄡᆫ. / d winu.	“It is mine / they are mine.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ㊦ᄡᆫ. / ur d winu.	“It is not mine / they are not mine.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ㊦ᄡᆫᄡᆫ, ㊦ᄡᆫᄡᆫ. / ur d idnnaᄡ, al azkka.	“It is not yesterday, it is until tomorrow.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ㊦ᄡᆫ. ㊦ᄡᆫ ᄡᆫᄡᆫᄡᆫ. / ur d wasa ula tiwcca.	“It is neither now nor tomorrow.”

When the predicate is a noun or an equivalent, ᄡᆫ / ur precedes the particle of predication Λ / d “it is”, hence the form ᄡᆫ Λ / ur d “it is not”. The latter structure undergoes a whole range of different alterations. Paramount among these alterations are ᄡᆫ ㊦Λ / ur id and ㊦ᄡᆫᄡᆫ Λ / ulli d. The common feature between these different realisations is the presence of ᄡᆫ / ur (in a full or reduced form) as well as the predicator Λ / d.

### 2.3 The negation of a completive or noun clause

To form negation, the completive clause introduced by ㊦ᄡᆫ / is “that” is preceded by the morpheme ᄡᆫ / ur and followed by the predicator Λ / d:

ᄡᆫ Λ ㊦ᄡᆫ ㊦ᄡᆫᄡᆫ. ᄡᆫᄡᆫᄡᆫ. / ur d isya taddart.	“It is not the fact that he bought a house.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ㊦ᄡᆫ ㊦ᄡᆫ ᄡᆫᄡᆫᄡᆫ. / ur d is as nniy qqim.	“It is not the fact that I told him to stay.”



## 2.4. Position of direct / indirect object pronouns and orientation particles

In a negative sentence, the direct and indirect object affixal pronouns along with the particles of spatial orientation  $\Lambda$  / d and l / n appear in a preverbal position, immediately after the adverb of negation  $\%O$  / ur. The order of the remaining elements of the sentence is left unscathed.

$\%K\Lambda$ $\Lambda$ . / yukm d.	“He came in (from here).”
$\%O \Lambda \%K\Lambda\Lambda$ . / ur d yukim.	“He did not come in (from here).”
$\%O\Xi\% \circ\Theta$ . / $\%riy$ as.	“I called him / her.”
$\%O \circ\Theta \%O\Xi\%$ . / ur as $\%riy$ .	“I did not call him / her.”
$\%Q\Xi\% \dagger$ . / $\%riy$ t.	“I saw him.”
$\%O \dagger \%Q\Xi\%$ . / ur t $\%riy$ .	“I did not see him.”
$\%Q\Xi\% \circ\Theta \dagger$ . / uciy as t.	“I gave it to him.”
$\%O \circ\Theta \dagger \%Q\Xi\%$ . / ur as t uciy.	“I did not give it to him.”

## 3. Interrogative

The interrogative sentence is used to ask a question or get information from an interlocutor. Questions in Amazigh are divided into two categories: closed questions (also called yes / no questions) and open-ended questions. The first category of questions bears on the whole sentence and is answered by using yes or no while the second category bears only on a single part of the sentence.

When a question is given to a present interlocutor, the interrogative sentence is termed *direct*. Conversely, when the question is introduced (within a clause) by a verb like  $\%Z\% \circ$  / sqsa “ask”,  $\%Q$  /  $\%r$  “see”, etc., it is dubbed *indirect*.

### 3.1. Closed questions

Linguists recognise two types of closed questions: direct closed questions and indirect closed questions.

#### a. Direct closed questions

Direct closed questions are always answered by yes or no. If the answer is positive, we get:  $\%Y\Xi\%$  / yyih,  $\%O$  / yah,  $\Lambda\circ$  / wah “yes”. If it is negative, we get:  $\%O\%$  / uhu,  $\%O\Xi$  / ihi,  $\%O\Lambda\circ$  / lawah,  $\%O$  / lla,  $\circ\circ\%$  / arah “no”.

In writing, a direct closed question is an independent sentence characterized orally by an interrogative intonation and by a question mark. A direct closed question is used when we speak directly to an interlocutor. Two processes are deployed to express interrogation: intonation and interrogative morphemes.

(i) *Direct closed questions marked by intonation only*

ΛΛ.   ? / ddan ?	“They went?”
ςξΠ† ∶!✱.Q. / yiwť unzar.	“It rained.”

(ii) *Direct closed questions with interrogative morphemes*

Under this category, the interrogative morphemes ξΘ / is and Γ. / ma are used to ask questions; they are compatible with verbs, nouns, quality nouns, adverbs and pronouns. Put in another way, ξΘ / is and Γ. / ma are made avail of in verbal as well as non-verbal sentences.

- *Verbal sentences*

ξΘ ΓΓ.   ? / is ccan ?	“Did they eat?”
Γ. O.Λ   ? / ma raĥn ?	“Did they go?”

- *Non-verbal sentences*

In a non-verbal sentence where the predicate is a noun (or an equivalent) or an adverb (cf. 8.1.2.), the interrogative morphemes ξΘ / is and Γ. / ma are used with the predicative particle Λ / d to formulate the close question:

ξΘ Λ Θ.Θ.κ ? / is d babak ?	“Is it your father?”
Γ. Λ ξηξΘ ? / ma d illis ?	“Is it his / her daughter?”

ξΘ Λ κκ ? / is d kmm ?	“Is it you (fem.)?”
Γ. Λ Ι†.† ? / ma d nttat ?	“Is it her?”

ξΘ Λ .ΠO.Υ ? / is d awray ?	“Is it the yellow one?”
Γ. Λ .ΘOκ.   ? / ma d abrkan ?	“Is it the black one?”

ξΘ Λ κQ.E ? / is d krad ?	“Is it three?”
Γ. Λ Θκκ.Θ ? / ma d smmus ?	“Is it five?”

ξΘ Λ ΛΛ.Π ? / is d ddaw ?	“Is it down?”
Γ. Θ Π.ΛΛ.ς ? / ma s wadday ?	“Is it down?”

᠘ᠤ ᠕ ᠤᠤ ? / ma d wa ?	“Is it this one?”
ᠰᠣ ᠕ ᠰᠤᠮ ? / is d imal?	“Is it next year?”

When the interrogative morpheme ᠰᠣ / is is used, the orientation particles (᠕ / d, ᠤ / n) and the direct and indirect object pronouns are placed before the verb, as set out in the examples below.

ᠰ᠕᠕ᠤ ᠕. / idda d.	>	ᠰᠣ ᠕ ᠰ᠕᠕ᠤ ? / is d idda ?	“Did he come?”
ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠤᠤ. / ilkm nn.	>	ᠰᠣ ᠤᠤ ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ? / is nn ilkm ?	“Did he arrive (there)?”
ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠤᠤ. / izra tn.	>	ᠰᠣ ᠤᠤ ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ? / is tn izra ?	“Did he see them?”
ᠤᠤᠣᠰ᠕ ᠣᠣ. / tyrid as.	>	ᠰᠣ ᠣᠣ ᠤᠤᠣᠰ᠕ ? / is as tyrid ?	“Did you call him / her?”

As for the interrogative morpheme ᠘ᠤ / ma, it does not entail the movement of the orientation particles (᠕ / d, ᠤ / n) and the direct and indirect object personal pronouns to a preverbal position. Conversely, when the interrogative morpheme is followed by the particle ᠣ᠕ / ad (of the future) or the negative particle ᠣᠤ / ur, movement of the afore-mentioned elements is observed.

᠘ᠤ ᠰᠣᠣᠰ ᠕ ᠤᠰᠤ ᠤᠤ. ? / ma yusi d niy lla ?	“Did he come or not?”
᠘ᠤ ᠣ᠕ ᠕ ᠰᠣᠣ ? / ma ad d yas ?	“Is he coming?”
᠘ᠤ ᠣᠤ ᠕ ᠰᠣᠣᠰ ? / ma ur d tusi ?	“Didn’t she come?”

### ***b. Indirect closed questions***

An indirect closed question is made up of a main clause and a subordinate interrogative clause introduced by ᠰᠣ / is or ᠘ᠤ / ma:

ᠣᠵᠣᠣ. ᠰᠣ ᠰᠣᠤᠤ ᠣᠰᠤ ! / sqsa t is iswa atay!	“Ask him if he drank tea!”
ᠠᠤᠤ ᠰᠣ ᠕ ᠰᠤᠤᠤ ! / elu is d iwɢn !	“See if they have come!”
ᠣᠤᠤ ᠘ᠤ ᠰᠣᠣᠰ ᠕ ᠰᠤᠣᠣᠣ ! / sal ma tusi d immas !	“Ask if his mother came!”
ᠣᠵᠣᠣ. ᠰᠣ ᠘ᠤ ᠴᠴᠤᠤ ! / sqsa tn ma ccin !	“Ask (them) if they have eaten!”

### 3.2. Open-ended questions

An open-ended question tries to get information on one of the constituents of the sentence and always requires an explanatory answer. It is recognised by the use of a definite interrogative tool (pronoun or adverb).

#### *a. Asking a question on the subject*

To ask a question on the subject, we resort to the interrogative pronouns  $\text{C}_\circ$  / ma or  $\text{U}\xi$  / wi which are followed by the participial form of the verb. The interrogative morphemes  $\text{C}_\circ$  / ma and  $\text{U}\xi$  / wi are invariable. The morpheme  $\text{C}_\circ$  / ma is followed by the topicalizers  $\circ\mathfrak{S}$  / ay or  $\circ\Lambda$  / ad, hence the forms  $\text{C}_\circ \circ\mathfrak{S}$  / ma ay or  $\text{C}_\circ \circ\Lambda$  / ma ad. At the phonetic level,  $\text{C}_\circ \circ\mathfrak{S}$  / ma ay is realized as  $\text{C}_\circ \mathfrak{S}$  / may or  $\text{C}_\circ \mathfrak{X}$  / mag and  $\text{C}_\circ \circ\Lambda$  / ma ad is realized as  $\text{C}_\circ \Lambda$  / mad or  $\text{C}_\circ$  / ma. The different realizations are dependent on the context of use.

$\text{C}_\circ \circ\mathfrak{S} \ \xi\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{Y} \ ?$ / ma ay iffyn ?	“Who went out?”
$\text{C}_\circ \circ\Lambda \ \xi\Lambda\Lambda\circ \ ?$ / ma ad iddan ?	“Who went?”
$\text{U}\xi \ \Lambda \ \mathfrak{S}^\circ\Lambda\mathfrak{H} \ ?$ / wi d yudfn ?	“Who came in?”
$\text{U}\xi \ \dagger \ \xi\mathfrak{I}\circ \ ?$ / wi t innan ?	“Who told it?”
$\text{U}\xi \ \Lambda \ \mathfrak{S}^\circ\odot\xi \ ?$ / u d yusin ?	“Who came?”

Before a nominal subject, it is the interrogative morpheme  $\text{C}_\circ \mathfrak{I}$  / man that is employed. The latter is invariable and does not exercise any influence whatsoever on the state of the noun that it specifies. The verb that follows remains in the participial form.

$\text{C}_\circ \mathfrak{I} \ \circ\text{C}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{E}\circ\mathfrak{Q} \ \parallel \ \xi\Theta\Theta\xi \ \xi\text{C}_\circ\mathfrak{M}\circ\odot\odot \ \circ\Lambda \ ?$ / man amḥḍaṭ nn ibbin imalass ad ?	“Which student has been absent this week?”
$\text{C}_\circ \mathfrak{I} \ \dagger\circ\text{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{E}^\circ\mathfrak{E}^\dagger \ \xi\odot\mathfrak{Y}\circ \ \dagger\circ\mathfrak{I}\circ\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{Q}_\circ \ ?$ / man tamṭṭuḍt isyan tanakṛa ?	“Which woman bought the rug?”

#### *b. Asking a question on the direct object*

Asking about the direct object necessitates the use of one of the following interrogative morphemes:  $\text{C}_\circ$  / ma (followed by  $\circ\Lambda$  / ad or  $\circ\mathfrak{S}$  / ay),  $\text{C}\xi\mathfrak{I}$  / min,  $\text{C}_\circ \mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{I}$  / mayn or  $\text{U}\xi$  / wi “what, whom”. The verbs that follow these interrogative morphemes do not take the participial form and are conjugated normally.

᠘ᠤ ᠎ᠠ ᠲᠤᠴᠤᠮ ᠤ ? / ma ad tccam ?	“What have you eaten?.”
᠘ᠤ ᠎ᠠ ᠲᠤᠶᠢᠳ ᠤ ? / ma ay tsyid ?	“What have you bought?”
᠘ᠤᠢ ᠲᠠᠨᠢᠮ ᠤ ? / min tnnim ?	“What did you (plr.) say?”
᠘ᠤᠰᠢ ᠠ ᠰᠢᠤᠢᠲ ᠤ ? / mayn d iwint ?	“What did they (fem.) bring?”
ᠤᠰ ᠲᠢᠵᠢᠳ ᠤ ? / wi tʒɪd ?	“What have you seen?”
ᠤ ᠵᠢᠷᠢᠨ ᠤ ? / u ʒɪrɪnt ?	“Who did they (fem.) see?”

Before a direct object, the interrogative morpheme ᠘ᠤᠢ / man can be employed. Under this display, the interrogative morpheme functions as a determiner.

᠘ᠤᠢ ᠎ᠠᠵᠢᠨᠠᠷ ᠠᠳ ᠲᠢᠳ ᠤ ?  
man aʒnnaɾ ad trid ?  
“Which bournous would you like?”

### *c. Asking a question on the indirect object*

When the inquiry holds on an indirect object, the interrogative sentence is introduced by the morpheme ᠘ᠤ / ma or ᠤ / u, followed by the morpheme ᠘ᠤᠰ / mi and / or the preposition that precedes the indirect object. The three elements may coexist, bringing about complex forms like: ᠘ᠤ ᠰ ᠘ᠤᠰ / ma i mi “to whom”, ᠘ᠤ ᠰ ᠘ᠤᠰ / ma s mi “with what” and ᠘ᠤ ᠰᠢᠤᠢ ᠘ᠤᠰ / ma xf mi “on what, about what ...”.

ᠰᠢᠤᠴᠤ ᠰᠢᠵᠤᠴᠤᠰᠢᠤ ᠰ ᠠᠯᠢᠰ. / iwca iqarɪɖn i eli.	“He gave the money to Ali.”
᠘ᠤ ᠘ᠤᠰ ᠰᠢᠤᠴᠤ ᠰᠢᠵᠤᠴᠤᠰᠢᠤ ? / ma mi iwca iqarɪɖn ?	“To whom did he give the money?”

᠘ᠤ / ma and ᠤ / u always appear at the beginning of the interrogative sentence followed by ᠘ᠤᠰ / mi (᠘ᠤ ᠘ᠤᠰ / ma mi, ᠤ ᠘ᠤᠰ / u mi “to whom”) especially when the preposition ᠰ / i introduces the indirect object. The preposition ᠰ / i may also hold before the morpheme ᠘ᠤᠰ / mi (ᠰ ᠘ᠤᠰ / i mi).

᠘ᠠᠮᠤᠢ ᠎ᠠᠵᠢᠨᠠᠷ ᠰ ᠢᠴᠤᠮᠠᠨᠠᠳᠢᠳ. / iwca iqarɪɖn i eli.	“They showed the way to the traveller.”
᠘ᠤ ᠘ᠤᠰ ᠘ᠠᠮᠤᠢ ᠎ᠠᠵᠢᠨᠠᠳᠢᠳ ᠤ ? / ma mi mlan abrid ?	“To whom did they show the way?”
ᠤ ᠘ᠤᠰ ᠘ᠠᠮᠤᠢ ᠎ᠠᠵᠢᠨᠠᠳᠢᠳ ᠤ ? / u mi mlan abrid ?	“To whom did they show the way?”



ርጂዘርጅ ዕፍ ረርር፡ተ ? / milmi ay immut ?	“When did he die?”
ርጂዘርጅ ዕፍ ተለሎርተ ? / milmi ay tddamt ?	“When did you (plr. fem.) go?”
ርጂዘርጅ ጸ ዓ. ተርር.ተፈርተ ? / milmi i ya tmmattimt ?	“When are you (plr. fem.) going to move house?”
ርጂዘርጅ ዕ. ዐ. ለ ፍ.ሀይ ? / milmi a ra d yawፈ ?	“When will he arrive?”
ርጂዘርጅ ዕ. ዓ. ተፎፎፀር ? / milmi a ya tፑፑፍm ??	“When will you (plr.) sleep?”

Let it be noted that ረጂዘርጅ ዕፍ / milmi + ay is realized as ረጂዘርጅ ዕ፳ / milmi + ag when the verb is conjugated in the third masculine singular person.

ርጂዘርጅ ዕፍ ረርር፡ተ ? / [ርጂዘርጅ ዕ፳ ረርር፡ተ] milmi ag mmut ?	“When did he die?”
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(ii) *Interrogative adverbs of place*

When the question holds on place or location, the interrogative adverb ርዕ፤ / mani “where”, which is usually followed by a preposition, introduces the interrogative sentence. The prepositions that follow ርዕ፤ / mani express one of the following values:

• Location:

ርዕ፤ ጸ ጸጸለዓ ? / mani g izdy ?	“Where does he live?”
ርዕ፤ ጸ ጸዘዘ. ጸዓዐር ዘፍ ! ? / mani g illa iyrm nnun ?	“Where is your (plr. masc.) village?”

• direction and movement:

ርዕ፤ ዓዐ ተለፈፈ ? / mani yr tddid ?	“Where are you going?”
ርዕ፤ ዐ ጸዐዘ ? / mani s irwl ?	“Where did he flee?”

• Origin:

ርዕ፤ ጸጸ ተጸፈፈ ? / mani zg tgid ?	“Where are you from?”
ርዕ፤ ዐ ጸጸጸ ? / mani s ckk ?	“Where are you from?”

The interrogative ርዕ፤ / mani can be followed directly by:

- a verb:

ᑕᓚᑭᑦᑲᓐᑭ? / mani irah ?	“Where did he go?”
ᑕᓚᑭ ᑲᓐᑭᑦᑲᓐᑭ? / mani tllam ?	“Where are you (plr. Masc.) ?”
ᑕᓚᑭ ᑲᓐᑭᑦᑲᓐᑭᑦᑲᓐᑭ? / mani t yufa ?	“Where did he find it?”

- a noun or pronoun:

᠘ᠣᠤᠰ ᠤᠨᠣᠭᠠᠨ ? / mani abrid ?	“Where is the way?”
᠘ᠣᠤᠰ ᠤᠨᠠᠯᠠᠨᠠᠳᠠᠭᠠᠨᠠᠨᠨ ? / mani s amddakk <sup>wl</sup> nnk ?	“Where is your friend?”
᠘ᠣᠤᠰ ᠲ ? / mani t ?	“Where is he?”

In general terms, there is a tendency to favour the verbal sentence with the following structure:

**┐o|ξ / Mani + (preposition) + verb ξ||ξ / ili**

ᠮᠠᠨᠢ ᠯᠠᠩ ᠵᠤᠭᠤᠨ ? / mani llan lwacun ?	“Where are the children?”
ᠮᠠᠨᠢ ᠭᠢᠯᠠ ᠤᠶ᠋ᠠᠷᠠᠰᠤ ? / mani g illa uyaras ?	“Where is the way?”

We also obtain  $\sqcup_0 \mathbb{X}_0$  / manza “where” before a noun or pronoun:

ᑕᓚᑭᓚ ᑭᓚᓚᓚ ᓚᓚ ? / manza tarwa nnk ?	“Where are the children?”
ᑕᓚᑭᓚ ᑭᓚ ? / manza t ??	“Where is he?”
ᑕᓚᑭᓚ ᓚᓚᓚ ? / manza imi ?	“Where is the entrance?”

(iii) *Interrogative adverbs of manner*

When the inquiry holds on the manner in which something has been done, the main interrogative morphemes deployed are: ʔo.ʔɛ / manik, ʔo.ʔɪ / mamnk, ʔo.ʔʔ / mammnk, ʔo.ʔo / maka, ʔɛʔʔ / mimc and ʔo.ʔ / manc ‘how’:

᠘ᠤᠰᠢᠭ ᠠᠨ ᠲᠤᠰᠢᠷᠠᠮᠤ ? / manik ad tskrm ?	“How did you do?”
᠘ᠤᠴᠢᠷ ᠠᠨ ᠲᠤᠭᠢᠳᠤ ? / mamnk ad tgid ?	“How are you?”
᠘ᠤᠷᠤ ᠠᠶᠤ ᠲᠤᠵᠤᠭᠢᠮᠳᠤ ? / maka ay tqqimd ?	“How are you? (after a misfortune)”
᠘ᠤᠷᠤ ᠠᠶᠤ ᠶᠠᠨᠭᠤ ? / maka ay ya ng ?	“What are we going to do?”



Not unlike the interrogative morphemes of time, interrogative morphemes of manner are followed by  $\text{ad}$  -  $\text{ay}$  (or their short forms).

(iv) *Interrogative adverbs of quantity*

The interrogative adverbs of quantity are:  $\text{mnck}$  /  $\text{mcha}$ ,  $\text{mcta}$  /  $\text{mcha}$  and  $\text{mnaw}$  “how much, how many”:

-  $\text{mnck}$  /  $\text{mcta}$ ,  $\text{mcha}$  /  $\text{mcha}$

When these adverbs specify a noun, they are always followed by the genitive preposition  $\text{in}$  /  $\text{n}$ :

$\text{mcha}$ $\text{in}$ $\text{tmayarin}$ ? / $\text{mcha}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{tmayarin}$ ?	“How many women?”
$\text{mcta}$ $\text{in}$ $\text{ixamn}$ ? / $\text{mcta}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{ixamn}$ ?	“How many houses?”
$\text{mnck}$ $\text{in}$ $\text{watay}$ ? / $\text{mnck}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{watay}$ ?	“How much tea?”

When they are followed by a verb, the adverbs of quantity are used along with the topicalizers  $\text{ad}$  /  $\text{ay}$  or their variant  $\text{a}$ :

$\text{mcha}$ $\text{ay}$ $\text{iqqimn}$ ? / $\text{mcha}$ $\text{ay}$ $\text{iqqimn}$ ?	“How many remain?”
$\text{mnck}$ $\text{ad}$ $\text{tmayarin}$ ? / $\text{mnck}$ $\text{ad}$ $\text{tmayarin}$ ?	“How many did you (plr. masc.) buy?”
$\text{mcta}$ $\text{ad}$ $\text{s tllam}$ ? / $\text{mcta}$ $\text{ad}$ $\text{s tllam}$ ?	“How many are you?”

-  $\text{mnaw}$  /  $\text{mnaw}$

The adverb  $\text{mnaw}$  /  $\text{mnaw}$ , which is used only with countable nouns, is not followed by a preposition; yet, it induces the noun that comes right after it to take the construct state form. Agreement in gender also holds between the interrogative morpheme and the noun:

$\text{mnaw}$ $\text{wussan}$ ? / $\text{mnaw}$ $\text{wussan}$ ?	“How many days?”
$\text{mnaw}$ $\text{in}$ $\text{tmayarin}$ ? / $\text{mnaw}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{tmayarin}$ ?	“How many women?”

(v) *Interrogative adverbs of cause and reason*

When we want to ask about cause or reason, we resort to the following interrogative adverbs:  $\text{maxf}$  (reduced forms  $\text{max}$  /  $\text{maf}$ ),  $\text{mayar}$  or  $\text{maymmi}$  ( $\text{maxmmi}$ ) “why”.

The interrogative morpheme 𐎠𐎡𐎴 / max, counter to 𐎠𐎡𐎴 / maf and 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 / mayar, is followed by 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴 / ay llig or one of its variants (𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴 / ay llix or 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴 / ay lliy).

𐎠𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴 ? / max ay lliy trwld ?	“Why did you flee?”
𐎠𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴 ? / max ay llig iffȳ?	“Why did he go out?”
𐎠𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴 ? / maf ur iddi?	“Why didn’t he go?”
𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴 ? / mayar tugid ad trahd ?	“Why did you refuse to go?”
𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴 ? / mayar tggid ammu ?	“Why are you like this?”

#### 4. The exclamative sentence

An exclamative sentence expresses a strong feeling (surprise, anger, indignation, pleasure, joy, etc.) or a speaker’s emotional judgement on a an event or situation.

𐎠𐎡𐎴 ! / irwl !	“He fled!”
𐎠𐎡𐎴 ! / ddan !	“They went!”
𐎠𐎡𐎴 ! / irza !	“He is broken!”

The make-up of an exclamative sentence is in no way different from the make-up of interrogative and affirmative sentences. The only exception observed between an exclamative sentence and the other afore-mentioned sentences is the use of an exclamative intonation in speaking and an exclamation mark in writing. Orally, an exclamative intonation is realized by lengthening the final vowel.

𐎠𐎡𐎴. / ddan.	(assertion)	“They went.”
𐎠𐎡𐎴 ! / ddan !	(exclamation)	“They went!”
𐎠𐎡𐎴 ? / ddan ?	(question)	“They went?”

Besides intonation, exclamation can also be marked by exclamative morphemes belonging to different classes (interrogative morphemes, indefinite morphemes, interjections).

#### 4.1. Expressing exclamation by intonation

Exclamation may well be expressed by intonation only. When this happens, the structure of the sentence is identical to the affirmative sentence:

ኖኹ ተተ ! / yufa tt !	“He found her!”
ተዛኤ ! / tyuda !	“She is beautiful!”
ለ ልጄ ልጁ ! / d amqqran !	“It / He is big!”
እጄ ልጁ ! / imqqur !	“He is big!”

Some exclamative sentences are made up of a noun phrase whose determiner is a stressed indefinite morpheme:

- ኖላ / ኔላ // **yan** / **ijj** “one (masc.)”, ኖተ / ኔተ // **yat** / **ict** “one (fem.)”

ኖላ ዩኤገላ ! / yan ttajin !	“a tagine! = What a tagine!”
ኖተ ተገላ ! / yat tm̥ra !	“a ceremony (marriage)! = What a ceremony!”

- ካዕ / kra // ር / ca “some, something”

ካዕ ለከፍከፍ ! / kra n wafulki !	“What a beauty!”
ር ለተገላ ! / ca n taḍfi !	“What sweetness!”

A noun phrase introduced by ዕ / ha may express exclamation if it is uttered with an exclamative intonation accompanied by stress on ዕ / ha.

ዕ ተገላ ! / ha tammara !	“What a pain!”
ዕ ተገላ ! / ha tim̥arin !	“These are really good ladies!”
ዕ ለገላ ! / han awal !	“It is well said!”

#### 4.2. Exclamation by using exclamative tools

Some morphemes express both interrogation and exclamation (cf. 8.3.2), as set out below:

- ርተ / matta “what”

When reduplication (ex. 1, 2) or expansion (ex. 3) of ርተ / matta is noted, the sentence evokes a positive opinion:

1. ርተ ጸጸጸ ርተ ! / matta zzin matta !	“What a beauty!”
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Λ / d. Conversely, when they introduce a verbal sentence, the interrogative adverbs are used with ◦Λ / ad or ◦ς / ay.

• ◦Λξ / **mani** “where”

◦Λξ ∏∏◦ ∏◦◦◦◦ √◦Λ◦ξ! / “How beautiful were those days!”  
mani llan wussan yudanin !

Word repetition may also be used to express exclamation, as is clear in the following examples:

◦◦◦ ◦Λ ξξ◦ ∘◦◦ ◦ ! / ass ad igan ass a !	“What a great day!”
◦ ◦◦◦ξ, ◦ ◦◦◦ξ ! / a æri, a æri !	“Oh, my happiness!”

*Other processes (expressions, words)*

ς◦∏ ! / yuf !	“That’s for the best!”
◦◦∏∏◦∏ ! / hakkak !	(astonishment)
ξ◦√◦Λ ◦∏ ◦◦◦ξ ! / iryud ak řbbi !	“Congratulations!”
∏◦◦∏ξ ! / wahli !	“By Jove, of course! ”



## CHAPTER 9

### Complex sentence

A sentence is termed complex when it consists of two or many clauses. Complex sentences bifurcate into three categories: sentences with subordinate clauses, sentences with coordinate clauses and sentences with juxtaposed clauses.

ξ††∅ ∅.∅.∅ ∅∅ξ ∅.∅ †∅ξ∅. / ittu awal lli as tnnid.	“He forgot what you told him”
ξ∅∅. ∅ξ† ∅∅ ξ∅∅ξ ? / idda niy ur iddi ?	“Did he go or not?”
†∅∅∅ ∅, †∅.∅ξ ∅∅∅∅ξ∅, †∅∅∅†. / tkcm d, tasi memmis, tffy.	“She came in, she took her son, she left.”

The sentences above are complex. This is ascribed to the following reasons: The first contains a subordinate clause (relative clause), the second consists of two coordinated clauses (linked by the coordinator niy “or” (ny is its variant)) and the third has three juxtaposed clauses devoid of any subordination morphemes (conjunctions).

One of the main attributes of the subordination complex sentence is the fact that it is made up of two clauses: an independent clause (main clause) and a dependent clause (subordinate clause); both clause are related to each other via a morpheme or conjunction of subordination. We recognise three categories of subordinate clauses: relative, noun and adverbial clauses.

#### 1. Relative clauses

In general terms, a relative clause functions as an expansion of a precedent noun phrase. The expansion concerns one of the following elements: a subject, a direct object, an indirect object or an adverbial phrase. A relative clause can be linked to a main clause by a relative morpheme or pronoun. Relative clauses bifurcate into two types: relative clauses with antecedents and relative clauses without antecedents.

### 1.1. Relative pronouns

A relative clause is introduced by one of the following pronouns or morphemes:  $\text{lli}$  /  $\text{li}$ ,  $\text{da}$  /  $\text{na}$ ,  $\text{nna}$ ,  $\text{nni}$  and  $\text{i}$ . These pronouns share the same syntactic behaviour and have the same distribution:

<p>ᵐᵒ ᵑᵒ ᵗᵒ ᵗᵑ ᵑᵒ.ᵑᵒ ᵐ ᵐᵐᵑ ᵑᵒ.ᵒ ᵑᵒ ᵑᵒ ᵗᵒ ᵑᵒ. / ur iṣḥi wawal lli as tnnid.</p>	<p>“What you told him is not right.”</p>
<p>ᵑᵒ.ᵒᵒ ᵑᵒ.ᵒ ᵑᵒ ᵑᵒ ᵑᵒ ᵑᵒ ᵑᵒ ᵑᵒ ᵑᵒ ᵑᵒ.ᵒ ᵑᵒ.ᵒ. / tarbat nni tṣṛid illis n uma.</p>	<p>“The girl you saw is my niece.”</p>
<p>ᵑᵒ ᵑᵒ.ᵒ ᵑᵒ ᵑᵒ.ᵒ ᵑᵒ ᵑᵒ.ᵒ ᵑᵒ ᵑᵒ ᵑᵒ. / tdda tfruxt nna tṣṛid.</p>	<p>“The girl you saw left.”</p>

The relative pronouns presented above share the following characteristics:

a. To the exception of  $\xi / i$ , they are optional. In fact, their absence does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence.

<p>ᵛᵃᵒᵝᵗ ᵛᵒᵒᵓ ᵛᵗᵗᵗᵗ. / afɾux irwɪn igg<sup>w</sup>d.</p>	<p>“The boy who fled was frightened.”</p>
<p>ᵗᵗᵗ. ᵛᵃᵒᵝᵗ ᵗᵗᵗᵗᵗ. / tɖda tɾuxɪt tʒɪd.</p>	<p>“The girl you saw left.”</p>
<p>ᵒᵒ ᵛᵒᵗᵗ ᵒᵒᵒ. ᵗᵗᵗ. / ur iʃhi wawal tɪnɪd.</p>	<p>“What you said is wrong.”</p>

b. They always obtain at the beginning of a relative clause, just after the antecedent. However, they may well be separated from the antecedent by a specifying morpheme, such as the demonstrative pronouns *o* / *a* (and its variant *o* / *u*), *o*ll / *ann*, *xi* / *in* and *lxi* / *nni*.

ተሃዳጊ ተገባ። ለ ዘኔ ተዓሂለ / tyuda tnkɾa ad lli tsyid.	"It is beautiful, this mat you bought."
፡፲፱፻፬ ስኔ ኔ ተጼባል ፫፫፭፻፬ ፤ %ዙ፫። / ahnjir nni i tɿɾid memmis n ultma.	"The boy you saw is my nephew."
፮፬፯ ሥፅፁ፤ ስኔ ለ። ተዓሂለ / iriw ueban nni da tsyid.	"They are large the clothes you bought."

c. Relative pronouns are invariable: they preserve the same form no matter what the morphological features of the antecedent are:



ᠰᠰᠨ ᠢ ᠷᠠᠭᠠᠰ ᠨᠢ ᠶᠢᠸᠠᠨ. / ssny argaz nni iffyn.	“I know the man who went out.”
ᠰᠠᠷᠢ ᠶᠢ ᠲᠡᠮ ᠶᠠᠷᠢ ᠨᠠ ᠰᠢᠬᠤᠰᠢᠨ ᠳᠢᠨᠨ. / sawly i tmyart nna iskkusn dinn.	“I talked to the woman who is sitting there.”
ᠰᠠᠷᠢ ᠶᠢ ᠲᠡᠮ ᠶᠠᠷᠢ ᠨᠢ ᠰᠢᠬᠤᠰᠢᠨ ᠳᠢᠨᠨ. / sawly i tmyarin lli skkusnin dinn.	“I talked to the women sitting there.”

## 1.2. Relative clauses with antecedents

A relative clause with a nominal antecedent exhibits a whole range of specificities on the basis of the nature of the relative clause used and the grammatical function of the relative pronoun. The latter can be the subject, direct object, indirect object or object of a preposition of the relative clause.

### *a. The relative pronoun as a subject*

ᠬᠠ ᠠᠷᠪᠠ ᠨᠢ ᠢᠷᠠᠨ ᠠᠬᠢᠵᠢᠨ. / ha arba nni iran akzin.	“Here is the boy who wants the dog.”
ᠠᠬᠢᠨᠵᠢᠷ ᠨᠢ ᠢ ᠢᠷᠠᠬᠢᠨ ᠳ ᠤᠮᠠ. / aḥnjir nni i irahn d uma.	“The boy who went is my brother.”
ᠠᠶᠳᠢ ᠨᠢ ᠢᠲᠲᠠᠶᠢ ᠠᠷ ᠢᠲᠲᠪᠪᠢ. / aydi lli ittayn ur ar ittbbi.	“The dog that barks does not bite.”

When the relative pronoun is a subject, the verb takes the participial form (cf.5.1.2.c), hence the verb forms  $\text{ᠢᠷᠠᠨ}$  / iran “having wanted”,  $\text{ᠢᠷᠠᠬᠢᠨ}$  / irahn “having gone” and  $\text{ᠢᠲᠲᠠᠶᠢ}$  / ittayn “barking” used in the three examples presented above. The preverbal particles  $\text{ᠠᠷᠠ}$  / a ra,  $\text{ᠠᠶᠠ}$  / a ya and  $\text{ᠢᠶᠠ}$  / i ya are free variants and can substitute  $\text{ᠠᠳ}$  / ad (the future morpheme) when the verb is conjugated in the aorist form:

ᠲᠢᠴᠢᠷᠠᠲᠢᠨ ᠶᠠ ᠶᠢᠨᠢᠨ ᠢᠨᠶᠢᠮᠢᠰᠢᠨ ᠳᠳᠠᠨᠲ. / ticirratin ya yinin inymisn ddant. “The girls who will tell the news are gone.”
ᠰᠢ ᠲᠡᠮ ᠶᠠ ᠢᠰᠰᠢᠨ ᠢᠮᠨᠰᠢ ᠢ ᠢᠨᠪᠠᠭᠢᠠᠨ. / ur tlli ultma a ra issnun imnsi i inbgiwn. “My sister who will prepare dinner to the guests is not here.”

### ***b. The relative pronoun as a direct object***

When the relative pronoun is a direct object, the verb of the relative clause is conjugated and takes the usual inflectional markers that the verb takes in the different themes (*cf.* 5.1.2.a).

ᐱᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ. / iyuda udlis nna tara.	“The book she wrote is interesting.”
ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ. / tasyart da zzan tumz.	“The tree they planted held.”
ᐱᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ. / icqqa ubrid lla ya tamzm.	“The way you are going to take is difficult.”
ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ. / uc as aqrab nni tsya idnnaṭ.	“Give her the bag she bought yesterday.”

### ***c. The relative pronoun as an indirect object***

When the relative pronoun is a an indirect object, the relative clause is introduced by the preposition ᐱ / i “to” followed by the relative pronoun ᐃᐃ / mi or ᐃᐃᐃ / umi “that”. The use of the preposition remains optional, as laid out in the following examples:

ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ (ᐱ) ᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ. afrux (i) mi fkiy iqariḏn ifta. “The boy to whom I have given the money left.”
ᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ (ᐱ) ᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ. raḥn iḥnjirn (i) umi tucid ttmnyat. “The boys to whom you have given the money left.”

The use of the relative pronouns (ᐃᐃᐃ / lli, ᐃᐃᐃ / da, ᐃᐃᐃ / nna, ᐃᐃᐃ / nni, ᐱ / i) is possible with ᐃᐃ / mi “to which”:

ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ. afrux lli mi fkiy iqariḏn ifta. “The boy to whom I have given the money left.”
--

### ***d. The relative pronoun as an object of a preposition other than ᐱ / i***

Two scenarios are observed when the relative pronoun is an object of a preposition other than ᐱ / i “to”:

- The relative clause is introduced by a preposition followed by the relative pronoun  $\text{C}\xi$  / *mi* (as in the case of the relative pronoun that refers to an indirect object);

- the relative pronoun is followed by a preposition.

The sequences *preposition* +  $\text{C}\xi$  / *mi* and *relative pronoun* + *preposition* form what we might call a prepositional relative or a complex relative.

(i) *Preposition* +  $\text{C}\xi$  / *mi*

$\text{ተ.ለ.ሰ.ወ.ተ. ጸ. C}\xi \text{ ጸ.ጸ.ላ.ሃ. ተ.ጸ.ጸ.ጸ.} /$ taddart g mi izdy taggug.	“The house where he lives is far.”
$\text{ተ.ር.ለ.ፍ.ተ. ዛ.ዐ. C}\xi \text{ ፍ.ዐ.ጸ. ተ.ፀ.ፀ.ጸ.} /$ tamdint ሃr mi irah tṣbh.	“The city where he is going to live is beautiful.”
$\text{፡ዐ. ሰ.ፀ.ፀ.፤ ር.ለ.ሰ. ዛ.ዐ. C}\xi \text{ ፍ.ለ.ሰ.} /$ ur nssin mddn ሃur mi idda.	“We do not know the people to whom he paid a visit.”
$\text{ተ.ፍ.፡ ተ.ፍ.ዐ.ተ. ጸ.ጸ. C}\xi \text{ ለ. ፍ.ዐ.} /$ tcna tmurt zg mi d yusa.	“The country from which he came is beautiful.”
$\text{ተ.ፍ.፡፡. ተ.ፍ.ዐ.፡፡.ተ. ጸ.ጸ. C}\xi \text{ ፍ.ዐ.፡፡.} /$ tcqqa tmslayt xf mi isawal.	“The issue he is talking about is delicate.”
$\text{፡ዐ. ሰ.ፀ.ፀ.፤ ፍ.ለ.ሰ. ጸ.ለ. C}\xi \text{ ፍ.ዐ.ጸ.} /$ ur nssin iwdan agd mi irah.	“We do not know the people he went with.”
$\text{ፍ.ፍ.፡፡.ዐ. ፡ጸ.ፍ.፡ ፀ. C}\xi \text{ ተ. ፍ.ተ.} /$ imqgur uzru s mi t yut.	“The stone with which he hit him is big.”

(ii) *Relative pronoun* + *preposition*

In general terms, the relative clause is introduced by a relative pronoun followed by a preposition; the nature of the latter depends on the verb used.

$\text{ፍ.ፍ.፡. ፡፡.ፍ.ፍ.፡፡.ዐ. ሰ. ጸ.ጸ. ፍ.ዐ.፡፡.ሰ.} /$ icwa wayyis nna xf issuda.	“ The horse on which he is riding is beautiful.”
$\text{ተ.ር.ለ.ፍ.ተ. ሰ.፤ ጸ.፤ ለ. ፍ.ዐ. ተ.ጸ.ጸ.ጸ.} /$ tamdint nni zi d yusa taggug.	“The city from which he came is far.”
$\text{፡.፡ ሰ.፤ ጸ. ፤ ፍ.ፍ.፡ ፍ.ለ.ዐ.} /$ anu lli g idr idra.	“The well in which he fell is deep.”

### 1.3. Relative clauses without antecedents

A relative clause without antecedent is a clause whose relative pronoun is devoid of an overt nominal antecedent:

ሃዐ ሄ ሀ.ዘዘ፤ ሄዘዘሃ ! / yr i walli iffyn !	“Call the one who went out!”
ዐ.ፀ፤ ሀዘ፤ ዘዘ፤ ተዐ፤፤ ! / asi win lli trid !	“Take the one you want!”

In the examples presented above, the relative clauses ሀ.ዘዘ፤ ሄዘዘሃ ! / walli iffyn and ሀዘ፤ ዘዘ፤ ተዐ፤፤ / win lli trit are not expansions of a nominal antecedent. They are introduced by ሀ.ዘዘ፤ / walli and ሀዘ፤ / win which are made up of demonstrative ሀ. / wa and ሀዘ፤ / wi. In this sort of relative clauses, we use other elements to support the relative pronoun; these elements are demonstrative pronouns which are variable in gender and number. The combination of demonstrative pronouns and relative pronouns brings about the following paradigms:

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun ዘዘ፤ / lli

ሀ.ዘዘ፤ / walli	“the one (masc.) who”
ተ.ዘዘ፤ / talli	“the one (fem.) who”
ሀዘዘዘ፤ / willi	“those (masc.) who”
ተዘዘዘ፤ / tilli	“those (fem.) who”

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun ሊ. / da

ሀ.ሊ. / wada	“the one (masc.) who”
ተ.ሊ. / tada	“the one (fem.) who”
ሀዘሊ. / wida	“those (masc.) who”
ተዘሊ. / tida	“those (fem.) who”

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun ለ. / nna

ሀ.ለ. / ሀለ. // wanna / wnna	“the one (masc.) who”
ተ.ለ. / ተለ. // tanna / tnna	“the one (fem.) who”
ሀዘለ. / winna	“those (masc.) who”
ተዘለ. / tinna	“those (fem.) who”

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun ለዘ፤ / nni

ሀ.ለዘ፤ / ሀለዘ፤ // wanni / wnni	“the one (masc.) who”
ተ.ለዘ፤ / ተለዘ፤ // tanni / tnni	“the one (fem.) who”
ሀዘለዘ፤ / winni	“those (masc.) who”

ተከላ / tinni	“those (fem.) who”
ዕላ / aynni	“what, that”

ዘገተ ሄወዘኑ ተደረገ ! / fk t i walli t iran !	“Give it to the one who wants it!”
ሁሉንም ተገባዩን ለደረሰህህ / willi tẓrid d ierrimn.	“Those you have seen are young.”
ሀላፊው ተገባዩን ያነበዘው / wnna iṅran tabrat yini t.	“The one who read the letter says it.”
ሁሉም ያልቀበሉት / winna ur qbilnin inin t !	“The ones who do not accept say it!”
ዕላው ተነገረው ይገባል / aynna tnnid iga leib.	“What you said is not appropriate!”

#### 1.4. The position of personal pronouns in relative clauses

In a relative clause, direct and indirect object personal pronouns appear in a preverbal position, between the relative pronoun and the verb.

ዕላው ለእሱ ተነገረው ይገባል / awal lli as tnnid iqsh.	“What you told him is harsh.”
የሰው ገዢው ተነገረው / idda umsay nna tni istin.	“The buyer who chose them left.”
እኛም ለእሱ አንደንቅው / ur nssin argaz wnni i as tn yukrn.	“We do not know the one who stole them from him. ”
እኛም ለእሱ ሰውን ገዛለን / t.ፍ.ገ.ፍ. / ssiwly i wnna asn izznzn tamazirt.	“I talked to the man who sold them the land.”

## 2. Noun clauses

A noun clause consists of a main clause and a subordinate clause. It usually functions as a complement of the verb of the main clause and may also meet a number of other grammatical functions. The noun clause plays the role of a noun and has its diverse grammatical functions. It is linked to the main clause by the following subordinators: ደ / is, ለ / aqqa and ለ / ad “that”. Each of these morphemes has a specific context of use.

Three types of noun clauses are recognised: declarative noun phrases introduced by ደ / is or ለ / aqqa, interrogative noun clauses introduced

by an interrogative morpheme and modal noun clauses introduced by ɔΛ / ad.

## 2.1. The morphemes ξ⊙ / is, ɔZ⊙ / aqqa and ɔΛ / ad

### a. The morpheme ξ⊙ / is

The morpheme or subordinator ξ⊙ / is has the following features:

- It is morphologically invariable and keeps the same form irrespective of the context in which it is employed.
- It appears at the beginning of a noun clause:

llɔl ξ⊙ ξ⊙llw. / nnan is irwl. “They thought he fled away.”

- If the noun clause includes direct and indirect personal pronouns or the orientation particles Λ / d and ll / nn, the pronouns and particles are placed in a preverbal position immediately after ξ⊙ / is.

ξ⊙⊙l ξ⊙ ɔ⊙ +l ɣ%⊙. / issn is as tn yuca.	“He knows that he has given them to him.”
ξɣ.ɥ ξ⊙ Λ ΛΛ.ɔl. / iyal is d ddan.	“He thought they have come (over here).”

- ξ⊙ / is can introduce a declarative noun clause as much as it can introduce an indirect interrogative noun clause:

⊙ɥɥɣ ξ⊙ ξ+ɔ.⊙ɥ. / slly is itahl.	“I have heard he got married.”
⊙Z⊙. ξ⊙ ɣΛ.ɔl ! / sqsa is edan !	“Ask if they have left or not!”

ξ⊙ / is, in the second sentence, behaves as an interrogative morpheme that introduces an interrogative noun clause. In fact, it is the meaning of the verb of the main clause that determines the value of ξ⊙ / is. The verb ⊙Z⊙. / sqsa of the main clause shows that we are dealing with a question.

- ξ⊙ / is, whether used in a declarative or interrogative noun phrase, can introduce a subordinate clause devoid of a verb predicate:

llξɣ ξ⊙ ɔ⊙ ɣ%⊙⊙ ξ⊙ξ⊙.ɔl. / “I thought he did not have any  
nniy is ur yurs icirran. children.”

- When the noun clause is a yes / no indirect interrogative clause, the clause may also be introduced by ɔ. / ma “if”:

OZY.A @OIY.C.A HEE:C XASXUWI./ “I want to know if it is  
riy ad ssny ma d fttuc i d yiwlñ. Fettouch who got married.”

- When the interrogative noun clause is partial. Put in another way, when the question holds on one of the constituents of the subordinate clause, the latter is introduced by an interrogative morpheme depending on the grammatical function of the element on which the question holds:

᠋ᠰᠠᠩᠮᠤ ᠠᠶ ᠶᠢᠳᠠᠨ ᠤ ! / sqsa ma ay iddan !	“Ask who left!”
᠋ᠰᠠᠩᠮᠤ ᠤᠨ ᠤᠴᠠᠨ ᠲᠤᠮᠨᠶᠠᠲ ᠤ / tsqsa umi ucan tmnyat	“She wants to know to whom they gave the money.”
᠋ᠰᠠᠩᠮᠤ ᠠᠶ ᠶᠢᠳᠠᠨ ᠤ ! / sqsa milmi ay ffyn !	“Ask when they left!”

*b. The morpheme ʔʔ / aqqa*

As a subordinator, *•ZZ•* / *aqqa* “that” may equally introduce the declarative noun phrase:

፬ዘ፻፶ ሙሉ ጸላጊዝ. / sliy aqqa ad idwl.	“I heard he will be back.”
፻፲፱ ሥራዊ ሙሉ ጸላጊዝ ሙሉ ጸላጊዝ. / inna hmd aqqa iwdan raḥn.	“Ahmed said that the people went.”

Unlike  $\xi\odot$  / is, the morpheme  $\circ\mathbb{Z}\mathbb{Z}\circ$  / akka attracts neither personal pronouns (direct and indirect object pronouns) nor orientation particles to a preverbal position.

ᑕᑕᑭ ᓄᓯᓄ. ᓴᓯᓄ. ᑕᑕ ᓄ. / “I know that he has given  
ssny aqqa iwca as t. it to him.”

The declarative noun phrase may obtain without an introducing morpheme:

ΞΕΘQ ΞΘΟC. / iðhɾ ihrc.	“He looks sick.”
ΞY ΞΛΛο. / nniy idda.	“I thought he went.”

**c. The morpheme *oΛ/ ad***

- **Λ** / ad is invariable and appears at the beginning of a noun clause:

||ᚵ 𐍅 𐍇 𐌱 ᚱᚱ 𐍄.𐍆𐍆𐍅𐍄.      “I told him to open the door.”  
nniy as ad irzm taggurt.

- It has a modal value and expresses different semantic nuances such as contingency, injunction and conviction depending on the meaning of the verb of the main clause:

ᖃᖃ“ᐱ ᐱ ᐅᖃᐱ. / gg <sup>w</sup> dn ad ackn.	“They are afraid to get lost.”
ᐅᖃᖃ ᐱ ᐱᐅᐅᐱ. / riṽ ad ɛdun	“I want them to go.”
ᖃᐱ ᐅᐅ ᐱ ᖃᐅᖃᐅ ! / ini as ad yugur	“Tell him to leave.”
ᖃᐅᐅᐱ ᐱ ᖃᐅᐅᖃ. / issn ad yari	“He knows how to write.”
ᖃᐅᐅᐱ ᐱ ᐱᐅᐅᐱ. / iqqan ad ddun	“It is necessary for them to go.”

- $\alpha$  / ad is, more often than not, followed by a verb in the aorist form; the imperfective form is also frequently encountered:

<p>             ႰႰႰႰ ႰႰ ႰႰႰႰႰႰ ႰႰႰ              ႰႰႰႰႰႰ/ ixss ad itddu dar              babas.           </p>	<p>“It is necessary for him to always visit his father.”</p>
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- The use of *o*Λ / ad is obligatory:

<p> <math>\Sigma \odot \odot \odot \circ \wedge \Sigma \odot \circ \sqcup \sqcup \odot \odot \vdash \sqsubset \circ \times \Sigma \Psi \vdash</math>. /              issn ad isawl s tmaziyt.         </p>	<p>“He knows how to speak (in) Amazigh.”</p>
<p> <math>\ast \Sigma \odot \odot \odot \Sigma \odot \circ \sqcup \sqcup \odot \odot \vdash \sqsubset \circ \times \Sigma \Psi \vdash</math>. /  <math>\ast</math> issn isawl s tmaziyt.         </p>	<p>“He knows how to speak (in) Amazigh.”</p>

The second example is ungrammatical due to the absence of *o*Λ / *ad* as a subordinator that introduces the noun clause.

- Not unlike the subordinator  $\xi\ominus$  / is,  $\circ\Lambda$  / ad attracts orientation particles as well as personal pronouns that function as verb objects:

𐤅𐤀 𐤁 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤍𐤏 𐤓𐤕𐤌 𐤔𐤥  
𐤙𐤕𐤕𐤎𐤚𐤕      “Tell Hemmou to give them the money!”  
yuc ttmnyat

## 2.2. Verbs that introduce noun clauses

A verb, belonging to this category, takes a noun clause as its complement.

- Declarative noun clauses introduced by  $\Sigma\odot$  / is and  $\circ\mathbb{Z}\mathbb{Z}\circ$  / akka



The verbs, under this category, denote an assertion (ᐱᐱ / ini “to say”, ᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱ // ssn / isin “to know” ...), perception (ᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱ, ᐱᐱᐱ / elu “to see”, ᐱᐱᐱ / annay, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / smaqqi, ᐱᐱᐱ / ɾæa “to watch”, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ // rwus / rwis, ᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱ “to appear”, ᐱᐱᐱ / sll, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / sfld, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ssyd “to hear”, ᐱᐱ / ml “to show”), an opinion (ᐱᐱᐱ / ɣal “to believe”), cognition (ᐱᐱᐱ / ttu “to forget”) and doubt (ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ // ckku / ckka “to doubt”), among other values.

- Interrogative noun clauses

The verbs that introduce interrogative noun clauses are verbs that express or imply a question. Of prime importance among these verbs, there is ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / sqsa “ask”, ᐱᐱᐱ / ɾæa, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / elu and ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / smaqqi “to see”.

- Modal noun clauses with ᐱᐱ / ad

The verbs of the main clause generally express an action of virtual nature (ᐱᐱᐱ / iri “to want”), a future action (ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / qawl “to promise”, ᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ “to guarantee”), a feeling (ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / gg<sup>w</sup>d, ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ikᐱᐱ “to fear, to be scared”) or an obligation (ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ixss, ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ifukk, ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ilazm, ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / iqqan “to be necessary”).

### 2.3. The grammatical function of a noun clause

More often than not, noun clauses assume the function of a direct object of the verb of the main clause. They might also function as subjects or noun complements.

- Subject function: This function is met by a number of verbs that are conjugated in the third singular person and that could be qualified as impersonal verbs.

ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / irwas is iɾɱ.	“He seems to be ill.”
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / ixss ad ikrz igr nns.	“He has to till his field.”
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ. ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / ilazm ad yazn idrimn i babas.	“He has to send the money to his father.”

- Noun complement function: very few nouns accept the noun clause to be their complement.

𐎧𐎡𐎧𐎫 𐎠 𐎡𐎠𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎧 𐎧𐎠 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎡 𐎠𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎡. iwiy d laxbar is irwl muḥnd.	“I have come to know that Muhnd has fled.”
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### 3. Topicalized sentences

A topicalized sentence is characterised by highlighting or emphasising one of the constituents of the sentence through a whole range of appropriate syntactic processes. Topicalization obtains by the movement of the topicalized element to the beginning of a sentence coupled with the use of the topicalizing morpheme 𐎠𐎡 / ad or 𐎠𐎧 / ay “it is ... that / which”. These morphemes follow immediately the highlighted element.

#### 3.1. Topicalization morphemes

The topicalization morphemes are 𐎠𐎡 / ad, 𐎠𐎧 / ay and 𐎧 / i. When adjacent to some vowels, 𐎠𐎧 / ay may exhibit some phonetic alterations. 𐎠𐎡 / ad, 𐎠𐎧 / ay and 𐎧 / i have the same features and are employed in the same context, in the sense that they follow immediately the topicalized constituent. Among their most prominent attributes, we may well mention:

- 𐎠𐎡 / ad, 𐎠𐎧 / ay and 𐎧 / i are invariable. Regardless of the gender and number of the topicalized element, they keep the same form:

𐎠𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎡 𐎧𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡. / argaz ad iffyn.	“(He is) the man who got out.”
𐎠𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎡 𐎠𐎧 𐎧𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡. / argazn ay iffyn.	“(They are) the men who got out.”
𐎡𐎧𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎠𐎡 𐎧 𐎧𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡. / timyarin i iffyn..	“(They are) the women who got out.”

However, they may undergo some phonetic modifications. 𐎠𐎡 / ad, for instance, is realised as 𐎠 / a (reduced form) before a vowel.

𐎠𐎧𐎡𐎡 𐎠𐎡 𐎧𐎡𐎡𐎡. / aḍil ad icca. [aḍil ay icca]	“It is grapes that he ate.”
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As for 𐎠𐎧 / ay, it is pronounced 𐎠𐎧 / ag, 𐎧𐎡 / ig or 𐎠𐎧𐎡 / ayg before a verb that is conjugated in the third masculine singular person (i.e. the verb is introduced by the inflectional marker 𐎧- / i-), or before a verb in the participial form.

ተ.ርርርተ ላይ ረዕዩ ርርርር. / tammemt ay ira umudin [ ተ.ርርተ ላይ ርዕዩ ርርርር ]	“It is honey that the ill person wants.”
ተ.ጸላላት ላይ ረጸጸ. / tazdayt ay izza [ ተ.ጸላላት ላይ ረጸ / ረጸጸ ጸጸ. ]	“It is a palm tree that he planted.”
ተ.ዘዕጽተ ላይ ረዕዩ ርርርር. / tafruxt a ay issiwn [ ተ.ዘዕጽተ ላይ ረዕዩ ርርርር ]	“It is this girl who spoke.”

- Not unlike preverbal particles or interrogative and relative pronouns, ላ / ad, ላይ / ay and ረ / i attract both the direct / indirect object personal pronouns of the verb and the space orientation particles to a preverbal position:

ጸዘዩ ላይ ረጸጸ. / ifka as ajjig	“He gave her a flower.”
ረጸጸ ላይ ላይ ጸዘዩ. / ajjig ad as ifka	“It is a flower that he gave her.”
ረዕዩ ላ ጸዩ ረጸዩ. / yusa d zi ujdin	“He came back from Ajdir.”
ረጸዩ ላይ ጸዩ ላ ረዕዩ. / ajdir ay zi d yusa	“It is from Ajdir that he came.”

### 3.2. Topicalized constituents

To the exception of verbs, all the elements of a sentence can be topicalized by means of ላ / ad, ላይ / ay and ረ / i.

#### a. Topicalization of the subject

ጸዕዩ ርርርርጸጸ ረጸ ረጸጸ ረ ርርርርጸዕ. isya umddakk <sup>w</sup> l inu ayyis i memmis. “My friend bought a horse to his son.”
ርርርርጸጸ ረጸ ላ ጸዕዩ ረጸጸ ረ ርርርርጸዕ. amddakk <sup>w</sup> l inu ad isyan ayyis i memmis. “It is my friend who bought a horse to his son.”
ተ. ላ ረጸጸ ጸጸጸ ላ. ntta ay innan izlan ad. “It is he who told these poems.”

When the topicalized element is a subject, the verb appears in the participial form specified by the addition of the discontinuous inflectional marker  $\Sigma$  ... l / i ... n to the verb, hence the forms  $\Sigma\Theta\psi$  / isyan “having bought” and  $\Sigma\text{llol}$  / innan “having told” in the two examples mentioned above. If the topicalized constituent has a function other than a subject, the verb appears in a conjugated form (with agreement markers).

**b. Topicalization of the direct object**

$\circ\text{ss}\Sigma\Theta$ $\circ\text{s}$ $\Sigma\Theta\psi$ . $\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ $\Sigma$ $\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ . / ayyis ay isya h̄mmu i memmis.	“It is a horse that Hemmou bought for his son.”
$\circ\text{ll}\Sigma\Theta$ $\circ\text{ll}$ $\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ $\Sigma$ $\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ $\circ$ . / adlis ad fkan i unlmad a.	“It is a book that they gave to this pupil.”

**c. Topicalization of the indirect object**

Two scenarios are observed when the topicalized constituent is an indirect object:

- Movement of the prepositional phrase to the beginning of the sentence (dative preposition and its object) followed by a topicalization morpheme and the relative pronoun  $\text{ll}\Sigma$  / mi or  $\circ\text{ll}\Sigma$  / umi “to whom”:

$\Sigma\Theta\psi$ . $\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ $\circ\text{ss}\Sigma\Theta$ $\Sigma$ $\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ . / isya h̄mmu ayyis i memmis.	“Hemmou bought a horse for his son.”
$\Sigma$ $\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ $\circ\text{s}$ $\text{ll}\Sigma$ $\Sigma\Theta\psi$ . $\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ $\circ\text{ss}\Sigma\Theta$ . / i memmis ay mi isya h̄mmu ayyis.	“It is for his son that Hemmou bought a horse.”
$\Sigma$ $\text{ll}\circ\text{ll}\circ$ $\circ\text{ll}\text{ll}$ $\Sigma$ $\text{ll}\Sigma$ $\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ $\text{ll}\Sigma\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ . / i wadjar ins i umi iwca tisura.	“It is to his neighbour that he gave the keys.”

- Movement of the indirect object without the preposition  $\Sigma$  / i “to” that precedes it followed by the topicalization morpheme  $\text{ll}\Sigma$  / mi or  $\circ\text{ll}\Sigma$  / umi “to whom”:

$\Sigma\Theta\psi$ . $\circ\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ $\circ\text{ll}$ $\circ\text{ss}\Sigma\Theta$ $\Sigma$ $\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ . / isya urgaz ad ayyis i memmis.	“This man bought a horse for his son.”
$\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ $\circ\text{ll}$ $\text{ll}\Sigma$ $\Sigma\Theta\psi$ . $\circ\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ $\circ\text{ll}$ $\circ\text{ss}\Sigma\Theta$ / memmis ad mi isya urgaz ad ayyis.	“It is for his son that this man bought a horse.”
$\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ $\circ\text{s}$ $\text{ll}\Sigma$ $\Sigma\Theta\psi$ . $\circ\text{ll}\text{ll}\text{ll}$ $\circ\text{ll}$ $\circ\text{ss}\Sigma\Theta$ / memmis ay mi isya urgaz ad ayyis.	“It is for his son that this man bought a horse.”

#### *d. Topicalization of the object of a preposition*

The point of interest here is the object of a preposition other than  $\xi$  / i “to”, such as  $\text{ԿՕ}$  / yr,  $\text{ԼՕ}$  / dar,  $\text{Ծ}$  / s,  $\text{օՋ}$  / ag and  $\text{ՃՃ}$  / zg, among others (cf. 6.1). The object of a preposition, not unlike the indirect object, appears at the beginning of the sentence preceded by the preposition and followed by a topicalization morpheme along with the rest of the sentence.

$\text{Ծ օճՁ օ՛հ + չԶԶՅԾ}.$ / s uzru ay t iqqis.	“It is with a stone that he hit him.”
$\text{օՋ օ՛ՒԸ.Ծ օ՛հ չՕ.Ը.}$ / ag ultmas ay irah.	“It is with his sister that he went.”
$\text{Ջ +ԸԸՅԻ + օԼ Ջ ՃԸԿԻ.}$ / g tmdint ad g zdyn.	“It is in the city that they live.”
$\text{ԼՕ Թ.Թ.Ծ օԼ Ծ չԸԸ.}$ / dar babas ad s idda.	“It is to his father’s home that he went.”

The object of a preposition may well surface at the beginning of a sentence followed by a topicalization morpheme and the preposition.

$\text{օՏ.Ծ օ՛հ Ծ + չՔՔԾ.}$ / afus ay s t ikks.	“It is with his hand that he removed it.”
$\text{Թ.Թ.Ծ օԼ ԼՕ չԸԸ.}$ / babas ad dar idda..	“It is to his father’s home that he went.”
$\text{օ՛հԸ.Ծ չ ԿՕ չԶԶՅԸ.}$ / aytmas i yur iqqim.	“It is in his brothers’ house that he stays.”

#### *e. Topicalization of other constituents*

In addition to the already treated elements that fill a grammatical function in the sentence, a number of other constituents may equally be topicalized, such as quality nouns, adverbs and noun clauses.

- Topicalization of quality nouns

$\text{օՃՃՃ.Կ օ՛հ չՋ. օ՛ԻԹ.Ի ԻՏԸ.}$ / azgg <sup>w</sup> ay ay iga ueban n fađma.	“Red are the clothes of Fadma.”
$\text{օԸԸԸ. օԼ չՋ. Ը.ՃՃՅԾ Ի ԸԸԸ.}$ / amlal ad iga ayyis n ħmmu.	“White is Hemmou’s horse.”

In the above examples, the quality nouns  $\text{օՃՃՃ.Կ}$  / azgg<sup>w</sup>ay and  $\text{օԸԸԸ.}$  / amllal, which are colour nouns, are moved to the beginning of the sentence

and are followed by the morpheme  $\Lambda$  / ad or  $\text{ay}$  to serve topicalization ends.

- Topicalization of adverbs

$\Sigma\text{E}\text{I}\text{I}\text{O}\text{E} \text{ay} \text{t}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{O} \text{E}\text{:}\text{C}\text{O} \text{O}\text{O}\text{H}\text{O}\text{O} \text{.} /$ idnnaṭ ay tsya ṭuca asafar.	“It is yesterday that Toucha bought the drugs.”
$\Sigma\text{E}\text{X}\text{O}\text{C} \Lambda \text{A} \text{S}\text{:}\text{C}\text{R}\text{O} \text{S}\text{X}\text{U}\text{O} \text{.} /$ idgam ad d yucka yiws.	“It is yesterday that his / her son came.”
$\text{X}\text{X}\text{R}\text{R} \text{ay} \text{t}\text{H}\text{H}\text{Y} \text{.} /$ zikk ay tffy.	It is early in the morning when she went out.”

- Topicalization of noun clauses

The examples below show how a noun clause can be highlighted:

$\Lambda \text{O} \text{O} \text{t}\text{O}\text{X}\text{t} \text{t}\text{O}\text{O}\text{O}\text{t} \text{ay} \text{X}\text{O} \text{X}\text{O}\text{O}\text{C} \text{.} /$ ad as tarit tabrat ay ira ibbam. “That you write a letter to him is what your father wants.”
$\Lambda \text{t}\text{:}\text{C}\text{A} \text{X}\text{A}\text{H}\text{X}\text{O}\text{I} \text{X} \text{:}\text{C}\text{X}\text{E}\text{O} \Lambda \text{t}\text{O} \text{H}\text{O}\text{E}\text{C} \text{.} /$ ad tucd idlisl i umḥḍar ad tra faḍma. “That you give the books to the pupil is what Fadma wants.”

### 3.3. The use of $\Lambda$ / d before the topicalized constituent

In a topicalized structure, the topicalized noun (or its equivalent) may well be preceded by the predication morpheme  $\Lambda$  / d “it is”. When such a scenario holds, the addition of the predication morpheme  $\Lambda$  / d yields the following structure ( $\Lambda$ ) / (d) ...  $\Lambda$  / ad or  $\text{ay}$  ...:

( $\Lambda$ ) $\text{t}\text{C}\text{I}\text{S}\text{O}\text{t} \text{ay} \text{X}\text{O} \text{:}\text{X}\text{I}\text{X}\text{O} \text{.} /$ (d) tmnyat ay ira uḥnjir.	“Money is what the child needs.”
( $\Lambda$ ) $\text{H}\text{H}\text{X} \text{X} \text{X}\text{H}\text{O}\text{I} \text{t}\text{O}\text{O}\text{O}\text{t} \text{.} /$ (d) eli i iṭran tabrat.	“It is Ali who read the letter.”
( $\Lambda$ ) $\text{O}\text{X}\text{X}\text{X}\text{O}\text{Y} \Lambda \text{X}\text{X} \text{:}\text{X}\text{O}\text{t}\text{X}\text{H} \text{.} /$ (d) azgg <sup>w</sup> ay ad iga ugartil.	“Red is the mat.”

A noun clause can be topicalized by  $\Lambda$  / d:

$\Lambda \text{X}\text{O} \text{O} \text{X}\text{H}\text{R} \text{t}\text{:}\text{C}\text{X}\text{I} \text{.} /$ d is as ifka tumzin. “It is the fact that he gave her barley.”
---

Predicator  $\Lambda$  / d becomes mandatory after the negator  $\textcircled{\text{O}}$  / ur “not” and the interrogative morphemes  $\textcircled{\text{X}}$  / is and  $\textcircled{\text{L}}$  / ma “is he / she / it, are we / you / they?” when the latter precede a topicalized nominal (or its variant) or a noun clause:

ᄃᆫ ᄇ ᄋᆫᆫ. ᄌᆫ ᄇᆫᆫᄀ. / ur d baba ay d yusin.	"It is not my father who came."
ᄃᆫ ᄇ ᄈᆫ. ᄌᆫ ᄇᆫᆫᄀ ? / is d ntta i d yusin ?	"Is it he who came?"
ᄃᆫ ᄇ ᄈᆫ. ᄇ ᄃᆫᆫᄀ ᄈᆫᆫᆫᄀ. / ma d ntta ad iyran tabrat ?	""Is it he who read the letter?"
ᄃᆫ ᄇ ᄃᆫ ᄃᆫᆫᄀ ᄃᆫᆫᄀ. / ur d is icci astci.	"It is not the fact that he ate the poison."





putative relationship of simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority observed between the main and the subordinate clauses.

#### *a. Relationship of simultaneity*

We speak of simultaneity when the two actions expressed by the verbs of the two clauses, the main and the subordinate, take place at the same time. The morphemes expressing this value are:

ᠰᠤᠴᠢ, ᠠᠯᠠᠭᠰ, ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠭᠰ ᠴᠢ / umi, adday, ass mi	“when.”
ᠬᠤ, ᠬᠤᠯ / ku, kud	“as long as, while”
ᠴᠤᠵᠠᠯ / maḥd	“as”
ᠬᠤᠯᠠᠨᠠ / kudnna	“when, everytime”
ᠴᠢᠰᠢᠬᠢ (ᠴᠢᠰ) / mixf (mix)	“when, while, as soon as”
ᠯᠢᠭᠢᠰ / llig	“when”
ᠰᠠᠮᠤ, ᠰᠠᠭᠠᠰᠢᠭᠠᠰ // sgma, sgg <sup>w</sup> is	“since”

The morphemes ᠰᠤᠴᠢ / umi, ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠭᠰ ᠴᠢ / ass mi, ᠬᠤᠯᠠᠨᠠ / kudnna, ᠴᠢᠰᠢᠬᠢ / mixf (mix) and ᠯᠢᠭᠢᠰ (ᠯᠢᠭᠢᠰ) / llig (lly) are used not only with the perfective and imperfective themes but also with the aorist theme if the verb is preceded by ᠠᠯ / ad (or one of its variants). With the morphemes ᠬᠤ / ᠬᠤᠯ // ku / kud, the verbs of the main and subordinate clauses obtain in the imperfective form. With ᠰᠤᠴᠢ / sgma, ᠰᠤᠶᠢᠰᠢᠭᠠᠰ / sgg<sup>w</sup>is, the verb takes the perfective form. As for ᠠᠯᠠᠭᠰ / adday, the verb that follows this conjunction is always conjugated in the aorist form.

ᠠᠯ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠭᠰ ᠴᠢ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠭᠰ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠭᠰ. / ad raḥy umi ya d yas.	“I will go as soon as he arrives.”
ᠠᠯᠠᠭᠰ ᠴᠢ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠭᠰ. / ddiy umi d ilkm.	“I went when he arrived.”
ᠶᠠᠭᠤᠷᠢ ᠴᠢ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠭᠰ. / ggury umi d ittas.	“I (usually) leave when he arrives.”
ᠯᠢᠭᠢᠰ ᠠᠨ ᠵᠵᠢᠭᠢᠨ ᠠᠨ ᠰᠠᠠᠨᠠ. / lly ar zzigizn ar sawaln.	“While walking, they are speaking.”
ᠬᠤᠯᠠᠨᠠ ᠰᠠᠯᠠ. ᠴᠢᠰᠢᠬᠢ ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠭᠠᠰ. / kudnna idda tmunt dids.	“When he leaves, you will keep him company.”
ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠭᠰ ᠴᠢ ᠰᠠᠮᠤ. ᠠᠨ ᠰᠠᠨᠠᠭᠰ, ᠴᠢ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠭᠰ. / ass mi ira ad iddu, uc as ttmnyat.	“The day when he decides to leave, give him the money.”





## 4.2. Adverb clauses of purpose

These adverb clauses are introduced by morphemes that express the goal of the action expressed by the verb of the main clause. The subordinators used to convey this meaning are:  $\text{X}\text{C}_\circ$  ( $\text{X}\text{C}_\circ$ ) /  $\text{h}\text{ma}$  ( $\text{huma}$ ),  $\text{t}_\circ\text{H}_\circ$  /  $\text{tafa}$ ,  $\circ\text{K}_\circ$  /  $\text{aka}$ ,  $\text{H}_\circ\text{A}$  /  $\text{fad}$  and  $\text{O}_\circ\text{C}$  /  $\text{bac}$  “so as to, so that”. They are used only with verbs conjugated in the aorist form (if preceded by  $\circ\text{A}$  /  $\text{ad}$  or one of its variants) or in the imperfective form.

<p>ᠳᠤᠰᠢᠯᠠᠰ ᠠᠰ ᠬᠡᠮᠠ ᠠᠳ ᠢᠮᠤᠨ ᠳᠤᠯᠲᠤᠰ ᠠᠭᠤᠷ ᠤᠳᠤᠪᠢᠪ.</p>	<p>“Tell him to take his sister to the doctor.”</p>
<p>ᠳᠤᠰᠢᠯᠠᠰ ᠠᠰ ᠲᠠᠹᠠ ᠤᠷ ᠢᠲᠲᠳᠤ ᠭ ᠶᠢᠳ ! / ssiwl as tafa ur ittddu g yiᠳ !</p>	<p>“Tell him not to go at night !”</p>
<p>ᠬᠠᠨ ᠠᠰ ᠠᠮᠤᠷ ᠨᠠᠰ ᠶᠠᠳ ᠠᠳ ᠢᠶᠰᠢ.</p>	<p>“They gave him his share so that he keeps quiet.”</p>
<p>ᠰᠣᠶᠠ ᠠᠰᠨ ᠠᠬᠠ ᠰᠤᠮᠤᠨ ᠢᠮᠠᠰᠨ ᠨᠠᠰᠨ.</p>	<p>“He asked them to gather their things.”</p>

### 4.3. Adverb clauses of cause

Adverb clauses of cause are introduced by conjunctions expressing the reason behind the action undertaken by the verb of the main clause. The conjunctions that serve this function are:  $\text{ᑕᑭᑭᑦ}$  / *minzi*,  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦ}$  / *acku*,  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦ}$  / *umi* and  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦ}$  / *sg ma* “because”. These conjunctions are employed with verbs in the aorist form preceded by the preverbal particle  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦ}$  / *ad* (or one of its variants); they are also used with verbs conjugated in the perfective and imperfective forms.

<p>፪፪፭፫ ጸ ተ.ለሌ.ዐተ ር፤ጸ፭ ሌ ለ ሃ፡ዐ፭ ሙ፬ ፤፬ጸጸ፤፯.</p> <p>qqimɣ g taddart minzi ad d yuri asn inbgiwn.</p> <p>“I am staying at home because guests will visit me.”</p>
<p>፮፪፭፫ ጸ ተጸር፭ ር፤ጸ፭ ኖ፤፫፤.</p> <p>iqqim g tgm̥mi minzi yuḏn.</p> <p>“He stayed at home because he was ill.”</p>
<p>ጸጸ.፯ዐሃ ጸ ተ.ለሌ.ዐተ ሙ፫፡ ዐ.ለ ለ ሌ.ዐ፭ ሙ፫፤ ፤፬ጸጸ፤፯.</p> <p>ggawry g taddart acku rad d dari ackn inbgiwn.</p> <p>“I am staying at home because guests will visit me.”</p>

<p>ዕ ያለለኝ ፀ ተርሃዐ። ፍጹፍ ናይሁለዝ።  ur iddi s tmyra acku yiwḥl.  “He did not go to the marriage ceremony because he was ill.”</p>
<p>ቦኒ ጸደብ። ፍጹፍ ዕ ሃይዘ ናተደዘኝ ፀርርደደ።  awi aẓnnaṛ acku ar yinn ittili uşmmiḍ.  “Take the burnous because it is cold there.”</p>
<p>ዕ ተዘዘኝሃ ኔይዘይ። ፍርኔ ለዕናዕ ተደርፀፀኝ።  ur tffiy idnnaṭ umi days timssi.  “She did not go out yesterday because she had a fever.”</p>
<p>ተጸዕፂ ፀጸ ር። ዕ ፀ ፍርደላ ፍርዕ ዘፀ።  ṭṙq sg ma ur as ucin amur nns.  “She is unhappy because they did not give her her share.”</p>

The morpheme ሸፍጽ / llig “because” may also be used to express causality:

<p>ደፂፀዝ ሸፍጽ ዕ ና፡ፍ። ደፀፀ።ፀ ተደጸርርደኝ።  iqbl llig as yuca ibbas tiggmmi.  “He accepted because his father gave him the house.”</p>
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#### 4.4. Adverb clauses expressing concession and opposition

Adverb clauses of concession and opposition introduce an action that opposes the action expressed by the verb of the main clause. These clauses are introduced by a whole range of conjunctions; some of which are set out below:

- ሁጸጸ። / waxxa, ርፂፂ።ፀ / mqqar “even if, despite, in spite of”. These conjunctions are used with verbs conjugated in the perfective and imperfective forms as well as with verbs in the aorist form if they are preceded by the particle ለ / ad:

<p>ለ ለለ፡ሃ ጸ ደይይ። ሁጸጸ። ለ ናደዘኝ ለዘዘዝ። /  ad dduy ag ittū waxxa ad yili udfi.  “I will go with Itto even if there is snow.”</p>
<p>ለለኝሃ ሃ፡ፀፀ ሁጸጸ። ደይዞ። /  ddiy yurs waxxa uḍny.  “I went to see him although I was ill.”</p>
<p>ርፂፂ።ፀ ፀ ተፀፀ።ሁዙተ, ዕ ለ። ደፀፀሃ።ለ። /  mqqar as tssawalt, ur da issyad.  “Even if you talk to him, he will not listen.”</p>

- **᠘ᠣᠭᠣ** / maca, **᠘ᠣᠭᠭᠣ** / macc, **ᠰᠤᠴᠡᠮ** / imil “but”. They are used with all verbal themes.

ᠰᠠᠯᠠ ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠰᠤ᠋᠋᠋ ᠘ᠣᠭᠣ ᠰᠣ ᠎ᠠ ᠰᠠᠯᠠᠰᠤ ᠤ᠋᠋᠋ ᠠᠴᠴᠣᠰᠤ. / idda yr iŷrm maca ur ad iddu ŷur ḥmmu. “He went to the village but he is not going to pay Hemmou a visit.”
ᠠᠯᠰᠤ ᠠ᠋᠋᠋ ᠘ᠣᠭᠣ ᠰᠣ ᠰᠢᠯᠤ ᠰᠢᠰᠤ. / ddiy dars maca ur t inn uffiy. “I went to see him but I did not find him.”
ᠠ᠋᠋ ᠰᠠᠲᠠᠭᠠᠠ ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠰᠤ᠋᠋᠋ ᠘ᠣᠭᠭᠣ ᠰᠣ ᠠ᠋᠋ ᠰᠠᠲᠠᠯᠠᠰᠤ ᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋. / da itṭraḥ yr iŷrm macc ur da ittddu ŷurs. “He usually goes to the village but he does not pay him a visit.”
ᠰᠣᠶᠤ ᠠᠰᠰᠣᠰᠣ ᠰᠤᠴᠡᠮ ᠰᠤᠴᠣᠤ ᠰᠣ ᠰ. / isŷa ayyis imil ukrm as t. “He bought a horse but they stole it from him.”

#### 4.5. Adverb clauses of condition

The conjunctions that introduce the adverb clauses of condition convey a hypothesis or condition on which the implementation of the action expressed by the verb of the main clause depends. Some conjunctions filling this function are used with verbs in the aorist form provided these verbs are preceded by **᠎ᠠ** / ad (or one of its variants); the same conjunctions are also used with verbs in the perfective or imperfective forms. A whole range of conjunctive morphemes are laid out below:

-**᠘ᠣᠮᠤ** (**᠘ᠠᠮᠤ**) / mala (mla), **᠘ᠣᠮᠤ** (**᠘ᠣ**) / mri (mr), **ᠰᠤᠴᠡᠮ** (**ᠰᠤ**) / ig (iy), **᠘ᠠᠭᠤ** (**ᠠᠭᠤ**) / mk (km), **᠘ᠣᠮᠤ** / mud, **᠘ᠣᠮᠤ** / mta “if”

**᠘ᠣᠮᠤ ᠎ᠠ ᠰᠠᠯᠠᠰᠤ ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠰᠣᠰᠣᠰᠣ ᠎ᠠ ᠠᠴᠴᠣᠰᠣ ᠘ᠣᠮᠤ. /**  
mala ad iddu yr babas ad kis muny.  
“If he goes to see his father, I will go with him.”

**᠘ᠣᠮᠤ ᠰᠠᠯᠠᠰᠤ ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠰᠣᠰᠣᠰᠣ ᠎ᠠ ᠠᠴᠴᠣᠰᠣ ᠘ᠣᠮᠤ. /**  
mala idda yr babas ad kis muny.  
“If he had gone to see his father, I would have gone with him.”

The morphemes **ᠰᠤᠴᠡᠮ** (**ᠰᠤ**) / ig (iy) and **᠘ᠠᠭᠤ** (**ᠠᠭᠤ**) / mk (km) convey a condition in the future, whereas **᠘ᠣᠮᠤ** / mud and **᠘ᠣᠮᠤ** / mta express a hypothesis in the past:

**᠘ᠠᠭᠤ ᠰᠢᠰᠢᠰᠢ ᠰᠢᠰᠢ ᠰᠣ ᠎ᠠ ᠰᠣᠶᠤ ᠠᠮᠢᠰᠣ ᠠ ᠰᠢᠰᠢᠰᠢ. /**  
mk iffŷ ini as ad isŷ adlis d iffŷn.  
“If he goes out, tell him to buy the book that has just appeared.”

ᏱᏚ ᏐᏩ ᏱᏱᏱᏱ. ᏱᏱᏱᏱ ᏱᏱᏩ ᏐᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ. /

iy tn izra ifk asn tisura.

“If he sees them, that he gives them the keys.”

ᏱᏱᏱᏱ ᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ ᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ, ᏱᏱ ᏱᏱ ᏱᏱ ᏱᏱᏱᏱ. /

mud as tssiwld assnnaṭ, ur d ad ig aya.

“If you had spoken to him yesterday, He would not have done this.”

ᏱᏱᏱ ᏐᏩ ᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ, ᏱᏱ ᏱᏱᏱ ᏱᏱᏱᏱ ᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ. /

mta tn zriy, ur rad ddun dars.

“If I had seen them, they would not have visited him.”

When the morphemes of condition are employed, the affixal personal pronouns of the verb and the orientation particles are moved to a preverbal position.

#### 4.6. Adverb clauses of consequence

The conjunctions that introduce the adverb clauses of consequence express a fact or action which is the real or possible consequence of the action expressed by the verb of the main clause. Paramount among the conjunctions that meet this end, there are: ᏱᏱᏱᏱ / alami and ᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ (ᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ) / ayllig (ayllyiṭ) “until, till”. These conjunctions can be used with all verbal themes; however, when they are used with aorist verbs, they should be preceded by ᏱᏱ / ad.

ᏐᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ ᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ ᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ ᏐᏱᏱᏱᏱ.

tssiwł aṭṭaṣ alami twḥl.

“She talked a lot until she got tired.”

ᏐᏱᏱᏱ ᏐᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ. ᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ ᏐᏱᏱᏱᏱ.

tru tslmya ayllig twḥl.

“The baby has wept so much that she got tired.”

ᏐᏱᏱᏱ. ᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ ᏐᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ.

tcca ayllig tgusma.

“She ate so much that she got an indigestion.”

ᏱᏱ ᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ ᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱᏱ ᏱᏱᏱᏱ.

ar zzigizn ayllyiṭ ṛmin.

“They have walked so much that they got tired.”

#### 4.7. Adverb clauses of comparison

The adverb clauses expressing comparison are introduced by conjunctions that exhibit a comparison between the facts and actions expressed in the main

clause and the facts and actions expressed in the subordinate clause. The morphemes responsible for this function are:  $\text{am}$  ( $\text{am}$  /  $\text{amux}$ ) and  $\text{zun}$  “like, as”. They are used with verbs in the aorist form preceded by  $\text{ad}$  as much as they are used with verbs in the perfective and imperfective forms.

$\text{aqqa issawal am isyuyyu.}$ aqqa issawal am isyuyyu. “He is talking as if he is screaming.”
$\text{ar sis sawaly zun iy ar sawaly s uyrah.}$ ar sis sawaly zun iy ar sawaly s uyrah. “I am talking to him as if I am talking to a wall.”
$\text{la itddu ami yifs ttazzaln.}$ la itddu ami yifs ttazzaln. “He is walking as if he is being pursued.”

#### 4.8. Adverb clauses of manner

This variety of adverbial clauses expresses the manner in which the verb of the main clause has been undertaken. The conjunctions used in the adverbial clauses of manner are identical to the conjunctions used in adverb clauses of comparison:  $\text{am}$  ( $\text{am}$  /  $\text{amux}$ ) and  $\text{zun}$  “like, as”. They are used with verbs in the aorist form preceded by  $\text{ad}$  as much as they are used with verbs in the perfective and imperfective forms.

$\text{iskr zun d iy rad ign.}$ iskr zun d iy rad ign. “He pretends he is going to sleep.”
$\text{iga ami la ittazzal.}$ iga ami la ittazzal. “He pretends to be running.”
$\text{iga amux ittş.}$ iga amux ittş. “He pretends being asleep.”
$\text{iskr zun immut.}$ iskr zun immut. “He plays dead.”

Manner may also be expressed by merely juxtaposing the main clause with the subordinate clause.

$\text{tffy ar ttazzal.}$  “She went out running.”



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The central thrust of this book is to shed light on the grammatical rules of Amazigh. The originality of this work is reminiscent of the fact that it is a grammar of standard Moroccan Amazigh and not a a grammar of one of the Amazigh varieties. It is, therefore, meant to offer a reference grammar to Standard Amazigh. Foremost among the principles taken into consideration in its preparation is the unity of the language, the preservation of Amazigh richness in terms of grammatical structures and tools as well as a rational planning of variation.



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